



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-022

Thursday

4 February 1993

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-022

CONTENTS

4 February 1993

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Chad

National Conference Chairman Comments on New Role *[Paris International]* 1

Zaire

Belgium, France, U.S. Urge Mobutu To Relinquish Power *[AFP]* 1
 Mobutu Reacts to Demand *[AFP]* 2
 Army Chief of Staff Orders Troops To Lay Down Arms *[Kinshasa TV]* 2
 Monsengwo Advocates Dialogue To Solve Problems *[Brussels Radio]* 2

EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia

Meles Views Western Relations, Constitution *[Addis Ababa Radio]* 3
 Former Soldiers, Civilian Confess to Plotting Coup *[London International]* 5
 Afars Deny Intention To Invade Eritrea *[Addis Ababa Radio]* 5

Kenya

Moi Warns Those 'Bent on Creating Chaos' *[Nairobi TV]* 5
 British Minister Not To Alter Agenda in Nairobi *[Nairobi TV]* 6
 British Official Denies Aid Suspended *[Nairobi TV]* 6

Somalia

UN Denies Split Over Command of Multinational Force *[AFP]* 6
 Prime Minister Warns Against Rapid Foreign Pullout *[London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 2 Feb]* ... 7

Tanzania

Government Increases Fuel Prices 3 Feb *[Dar es Salaam Radio]* 8

Uganda

British High Commissioner Cautions NGO's *[Kampala Radio]* 8

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

De Klerk Says No NP Alliances Before Elections *[Johannesburg Radio]* 9
 Government, ANC in 'Urgent Talks' on MK Role *[SAPA]* 9
 ANC Proposes Codesa Resume Meeting in March *[Johannesburg TV]* 9
 Government Said Lacking Consensus on Powersharing *[SUNDAY STAR 31 Jan]* 10
 * De Klerk's Support From Within NP Analyzed *[DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN Dec/Jan]* 10
 IFP Warns Against Government-ANC 'Bilateralism' *[SAPA]* 14
 Will Not Negotiate Without KwaZulu *[Johannesburg Radio]* 15
 ANC's Dalling Predicts ANC-SACP Split *[SAPA]* 15
 Johannesburg Taxi Drivers Continue Protest *[SAPA]* 15
 Ciskei Court Denies Gqozo Exemption From Testifying *[SAPA]* 17

Ciskei's Gqozo Hospitalized for 'Spinal Problems' [SAPA]	17
Defense Minister's Statement on National Service [SAPA]	17
PAC Head Welcomes Statement [SAPA]	17
Purchase of 50 Swiss Planes To Proceed [Johannesburg Radio]	18
* Retired Officer Comments on Military Events [DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN Dec/Jan]	18
4 February Review of Current Issues, Events [THE STAR 4 Feb, etc.]	23

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Moco Urges International Action Against UNITA [Luanda Radio]	25
Fatima Roque To Be Freed; De Moura Stresses Peace [Lisbon International]	25
Says No Military Solution Sought [Luanda Radio]	26
UNITA Generals To Return to FAA [Luanda TV]	26
Generals Explain Position [Luanda TV]	26
South African Mercenaries Reportedly Captured [Luanda Radio]	28
Joint Commission With Zaire To Investigate UNITA Presence [Luanda Radio]	28

Malawi

Party Official Denies Charges of Political Persecution [Blantyre Radio]	28
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Mozambique

UNICEF Denies Government Manipulation Claims [Maputo Radio]	29
South African Appointed to Demobilization Commission [Maputo Radio]	29
War Veterans Capture Food Aid Vehicles in Zambezia [Maputo Radio]	29
Port, Railroad Authorities To Dismiss 14,000 [Maputo Radio]	29
Renamo Alleges 20,000 Members in Manica Province [Maputo Radio]	30
* Visit to Renamo-Controlled Southern Zambezia [TEMPO 3 Jan]	30
* Refugee Reintegration in Tete Examined [TEMPO 3 Jan]	32

Namibia

Authorities Negotiate on Resuming Aid Flights to Angola [SAPA]	35
----------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Swaziland

Finance Minister Notes 'Bleak' Economic Outlook [THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND 4 Feb]	35
Education Ministry Criticizes Free Education Calls [THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND 28 Jan]	36
Students Form New Association, Declare Neutrality [THE SWAZI OBSERVER 2 Feb]	36

Zimbabwe

Police Fire on Rioting Crowd at Chakari Gold Mine [SAPA]	37
----------------------------------------------------------------	----

WEST AFRICA

Benin

Pope John Paul II Arrives in Cotonou, Comments [Cotonou Radio]	38
----------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Ghana

Paper Views Tasks Ahead for Clinton Administration [THE MIRROR 30 Jan]	38
------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Liberia

NPRA Freezes Taxes, Duties on Food, Other Goods [Gbarnga Radio]	39
Prince Johnson Appeals to Combatants To Surrender [Monrovia Radio]	40

Commentary on Negotiations Without World Community [Gbarnga Radio]	41
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Niger

Minister Says Truce 'Not Realistic' in 10 Days [Niamey Radio]	41
---------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Nigeria

Soldiers Depart for UN Mission in Somalia [Lagos Radio]	41
President, Governors To Discuss Civil Service Salaries [Lagos Radio]	42
Information Minister Urges Workers To Reject Strike [PANA]	42
Aikhomu Appeals for Understanding From Creditors [Lagos Radio]	42

Togo

RPT Accepts Strasbourg Talks Offer, Outlines Conditions [Lome Radio]	43
RPT Chief Meets Press on Riots, Looting, Refugees [Lome Radio]	43
Violence Sends 40,000 Into Neighboring Countries [AFP]	44

Chad

National Conference Chairman Comments on New Role

LD0302215793 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Our guest is Maurice Adoum El Bongo, the new chairman of the Chad National Conference. This international civil servant of 62 years of age returned to Ndjamena a month ago after a 26-year absence. He has been working in Geneva at the International Labor Organization. Sosthene Gargoune asked him, first of all, what difficulties he was expecting now that he has been appointed to the post of chairman of the National Conference. Listen to his reply:

[Begin recording] [Adoum El Bongo] My problem in the work of the National Conference comes from the fact that, in a way, I have just arrived in this country, where I do not know all my colleagues. I am eagerly awaiting the election of my future collaborators within the framework of the Presidium. I believe—in light of my experience, my past, and my character—I hope that I will not have many difficulties in reestablishing proper working relationships, relationships of trust, within the framework of the Presidium. This will help me greatly in guiding the work of the National Conference. [passage omitted]

[Gargoune] Let us take the problem of the army, for example. Should the army be placed under the authority of the head of state or the prime minister of the transition?

[Adoum El Bongo] That is a very delicate question to which I cannot yet give a reply. I am going to study this problem. I believe that gradually, by studying this problem, I will see in what way I should propose solutions for a favorable outcome. I do not yet know the head of state, and the head of state does not know me. I have asked to pay him a visit, and I am still waiting for a reply. I believe that, after becoming acquainted with the head of state, I will attempt gradually to raise a certain number of problems with him. In any case, as chairman of the National Conference Presidium, I do not intend to carry out policy in a void, as they say. I intend to work hand-in-hand with the established authorities. I believe this is how I will gradually manage to grasp the facts of our real problems, which escape me at the moment and which I must learn to grasp again. [end recording]

Zaire

Belgium, France, U.S. Urge Mobutu To Relinquish Power

AB0402084593 Paris AFP in English 0250 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Brussels, Feb 4 (AFP)—Belgium, France and the United States strongly rebuked Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko Wednesday [3 February] and called on him to relinquish power, as talks to end the crisis were

mooted between the country's leaders. The three countries called on Mobutu to hand over "all powers" to an interim government headed by Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, which the president formally sacked late last year, the Belgian Foreign Ministry announced here.

In Kinshasa Archbishop Laurent Monsengwo, speaker in Zaire's acting parliament, offered to arrange talks between Mobutu and Tshisekedi, and criticized the prime minister's dilatoriness in forming a government. Tshisekedi's previous administration was sacked by Mobutu in December.

"It is time that the government was formed," Monsengwo, head of the High Council of the Republic (HCR), as the transitional parliament is called, said in an interview with French television.

However, opposition forces in Kinshasa sought to play down any impression of a split in their ranks.

In Brussels, the Belgian Foreign Ministry said the three powers' message blamed the crisis, which has reportedly resulted in the deaths of more than 300 people since unrest flared last Thursday [28 January], on "a lack of cooperation by President Mobutu with the interim government and the non-transfer of powers to it."

The message was handed to a senior presidential aide in Kinshasa by the Belgian, French and U.S. ambassadors there.

In it the three countries "deeply deplored the recent violence in Zaire which has caused many deaths, including that of the ambassador of France"—Philippe Bernard, killed by gunfire last Thursday—and said they were "very concerned" for the safety of their nationals.

"The only way to control the present dangerous trend is to hand over power immediately to the government approved by the High Council of the Republic", the message continued.

"This government should have the means to enforce order while respecting human rights and be able to resume the democratic process...without further obstruction from the presidency".

Tshisekedi's transitional government, which has refused to step down since it was dismissed by Mobutu, late Monday [1 February] called on the United States, France and Belgium, to intervene militarily to restore "order and security".

Senior officials from the three governments were to meet in Brussels Thursday [4 February] to assess the situation in Zaire, the Belgian Foreign Ministry said.

Washington announced earlier that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen was to travel to the Belgian capital Thursday.

Meanwhile in the Zairian capital Kinshasa, the HCR executive committee "severely" reprimanded

Tshisekedi for the delay in forming a government, sources close to the HCR said.

Tshisekedi has so far refused to comply, despite an ultimatum from the HCR ordering him to present a new team.

The archbishop said he was trying to organize a three-sided meeting in Kinshasa involving Mobutu, Tshisekedi, and himself as president of the HCR "as soon as possible." "There must be compromise, where everybody gets something and without winners and losers," he added. [passage omitted]

Mobutu Reacts to Demand

*AB0402115193 Paris AFP in English 1116 GMT
4 Feb 93*

[Text] Kinshasa, Feb 4 (AFP)—President Mobutu Sese Seko on Thursday [4 February] lashed out at Belgium, France and the United States for demanding that he hand power to his rival and interim prime minister. "They want to condemn the fireman on behalf of the arsonist," Mobutu told AFP by telephone from his residence at Gbadolite in Zaire's northern Equateur Province.

Marshal Mobutu also accused the Belgian Socialist Party of supporting Tshisekedi, whom he described as the party's "godson".

The statements were the first by Mobutu since hundreds of people died after mutinous troops went on the rampage in Kinshasa last Thursday [28 January], prompting Zaire's three main creditor nations to blame him for the violence.

Army Chief of Staff Orders Troops To Lay Down Arms

*LD0302213893 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network
in French 1900 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Text] This news bulletin begins with an important communique from the general chief of staff of the Zairean Armed Forces to the soldiers of Kinshasa garrison. Its contents are contained in this report:

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] As a consequence of the sad events that are taking place in the city of Kinshasa, Lieutenant General Mahele Liyeko, general chief of staff of the Zairean Armed Forces—aiming to restore order and public tranquillity—addressed the troops this afternoon in the presence of all of the chiefs of staff of the Armed Forces.

Three points captured the attention of those present. First, all troops must go back to their units and return their weapons and ammunition to the warehouses. Any soldier

who does not obey this order will be prosecuted for disobedience. Second, contrary to the disinformation campaign carried out to divide the Army by creating conflict between units, the general chief of staff reassured the troops that no unit was ever given the order to attack another unit. Third, the general chief of staff reminded the members of the Zairean Armed Forces and of the Civil Guard that their traditional mission is to defend the integrity of the nation's territory and to protect the people and their property. Regarding this point, he asked the troops to stop all attacks against the life and the property of the people, who have suffered enough from the situation prevailing in the country. [end recording]

We will broadcast tomorrow the entire text of this important address by Lt. Gen. Liyeko, general chief of staff of the Zairean Armed Forces.

Monsengwo Advocates Dialogue To Solve Problems

*LD0302173293 Brussels La Une Radio Network in
French 1600 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Text] Monsignor Monsengwo, chairman of the High Council of the Republic, has once again tried to play the role of mediator. He is trying to organize a meeting as soon as possible between President Mobutu and Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, who is still the prime minister forming the government. Our special correspondent Francois Rekmans asked Msgr. Monsengwo what he thinks of the presence of Belgian paratroopers in Brazzaville, Congo.

[Begin recording] [Rekmans] Many people are calling for military intervention by the Belgians and the French.

[Monsengwo] In fact, there are some who are calling for that.

[Rekmans] What do you think of that?

[Monsengwo] I think that this must be seen in the context of all the problems. What is best and when must it be done? Must it be done immediately, or should people rather find solutions which place this within an institutional framework, which I would call the forming of a government. If there was a government produced from a large national union, I think that foreign intervention could then come within the framework of a normal cooperation which would be accepted by all. For this reason I think that it is the solution of dialogue which must prevail before planning solutions which are outside any dialogue.

These days, no country functions in isolation, thus, things being like this, friendly countries and international law must intervene in order to resolve these problems. In the end the problem will be resolved by the Zaireans regardless of the support which others give us. [end recording]

Ethiopia

Meles Views Western Relations, Constitution

EA0302141593 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network
in Amharic 1730 GMT 1 Feb 93

["Part Three" of President Meles Zenawi's news conference with unidentified local reporters on 30 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Concerning the Eritrean referendum, it used to be claimed that Arab countries helped the current ruling party [Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF] in Eritrea before they came to power. At present one country has monopolized power in the world, namely the West and America. It is claimed by some that the EPLF has betrayed those Arabs who used to help it and has turned to Israel. This is said to have happened because of pressure from the United States and from the Ethiopian Government here, as it was America which aided the establishment of your transitional government.

When we look at our neighbors and other things, we see isolation of those Arab countries which the West calls fundamentalist, and a turning to the United States and Israel. On the other hand, there is the problem that an isolation of the United States or Israel would cause an unchallengeable danger to come from that side. As a result of this situation it is said that both the Ethiopian Government and the Provisional Government of Eritrea are in a diplomatic trap. If there is anything you know, I would like you to explain it to us.

[Meles] We are not in a diplomatic trap. Others must explain their own position. We have good relations with Western countries. As far as I know, and as has been reported in the media, the Arab countries which are referred to as fundamentalists are Sudan and Iran. We have good relations with them too. We also have good relations with Israel. We pursue our own national interests. Alongside this, we shall deal with anyone who can help us in any way, and we will not accommodate those who do not do so. All our friends know this. The relationship we have with the West is not based on hostility to Sudan or Iran. Our friendship with Israel is not based on being in conflict with the Arabs. The foundation of these relationships is mutual interest. If we have mutual interests with Israel, we work together on them. If we have mutual interests with the Arabs, we also work together. The same goes for the West.

[Reporter] The transitional government will mark its second anniversary in power five months from now. In view of this, and based on the Charter of the transitional government, the transition period should end and a civilian government should be established through general elections. Are steps being taken by the government towards this end? If not, it seems that the government may extend its power for six months after the completion of this two-year period. What has been decided on this, and what preparations are being made? I would like an answer.

[Meles] In finalizing the transitional period, the major step to be considered is that of drafting and approving the Constitution. Other things which were planned to be completed during the transitional period have been completed or will be completed shortly. Regional administrations have been established. The judiciary is being established. The police force is also being established, and it is possible to say that major political activities have been completed, with the exception of constitutional affairs. Economic issues cannot be completed during the transitional period but work on them will continue afterwards. In this case the major question determining the transitional period is drafting and approving the Constitution. A commission to draft the Constitution has been established and has begun some activities. Whether it will be completed in five months or will require a further six months, as indicated in the Charter, can be decided when the Draft Constitution Commission presents the details of its work.

[Reporter] Your Excellency, returning to the issue of the university, in the conflict between the students and the police during the demonstration, the police reported the death of one person. Although they did not give a figure, the lecturers' statement said many died. Furthermore, one of the university students in his statement to the U.S. radio [VOA] said that about 25 students were killed, roads were closed and their bodies were taken to another place. Will a committee be formed in the near future to give information on this?

[Meles] First, one person was killed. The numbers of those injured have been announced from time to time. When we say this, even one death is not a small thing. Even if it is only one, it was an incident to be avoided. However, there was no more than that one death, although they can exaggerate if they want to. Concerning the investigation, the statement issued by the Office of the Prime Minister indicated that an independent body will investigate the issue.

[Reporter] My question is related to the new economic policy. Some people say that this has not shown any results while others say it is showing better results. What opinion do you have on this? Has it achieved tangible results so far? [passage omitted]

[Meles] As all of us are talking about a shattered economy, the aim of the transitional government has been to halt the continuing fall in economic output during the fiscal year and, if possible, to achieve relative economic development. A major aim was to take steps to lay the foundations for continuous economic development. When we took these steps, many experts thought there were more problems than we see now. It seems to me that no one expected the situation to turn out as it has. However, due to many good opportunities, we have been able to reach this stage without realizing people's

fears. The major steps taken were not for immediate economic development but to facilitate a way for its development. [passage omitted]

Looking at things overall, those international organizations which have participated in the development program are carrying out some studies to see why the economic results have been better than expected. It is true that some of the good results are due to good luck. If there had been no rain in the last rainy season, there could have been problems. Furthermore, it is possible that we have underestimated the ability of our country's economy to recover. In general, our economic activities are in better shape than we had expected.

[Reporter] It is said that guns and democracy do not mix. Based on this, some people say that the transitional government itself ran the elections in which it was elected, and thus the elections were not fair. They say that a new transitional government, comprising all political organizations, should be formed. This was one of the resolutions passed by the meeting held in Germany which involved the Oromo Liberation Front, the Coalition of Ethiopian Democratic Forces, the All Amhara People's Organization [AAPO], and the Southern People's Union [SPU], as well as the human rights conference. What is your opinion on this?

[Meles] I am not sure how helpful this saying—guns and democracy do not mix—is, because it seems to me that there is no shortage of guns in America and other countries which are seen as democratic. However, if what they want to say is that there should not be pressure on the political activities of parties, there can be no argument about that. There should not be any pressure. Some of the organizations now calling for the formation of a new transitional government were at one time participants in the transitional government who left it of their own accord.

Some are still members of the transitional government, by which I am referring to the Gedeo Union. I do not want to go into details of organizations and individuals in the SPU. However, if it is said that the SPU participated in the meeting in Germany, it should be noted that the SPU is part of the transitional government. [passage omitted]

Hence, the issue of the replacement of the transitional government by any other government is unacceptable. This might be a new issue in our country. But if there is a democratic government of the people, the demand for the government to resign [word in English] just before the government has started normal business is unacceptable. The major issue here is that the demand for resignation has even been presented to Parliament for approval and is sometimes tabled for voting. Most of the Members of Parliament demand such things knowing very well that they cannot win, as they will be defeated by the majority of votes. Hence, such demands can only be called a gimmick of political struggle.

[Reporter] Your Excellency, The President, my question is that one of the magazines published in our town, Addis Ababa, has pointed out that when Mr. Isayas Afewerki [secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea] was sick [words indistinct] for him to travel to Israel for treatment. How far is this true? Could you elaborate on this?

[Meles] First, I think it is better if I start to elaborate on the views behind this issue. I do not wish Mr. Isayas Afewerki to die of sickness. First, I do not (allow) anyone to die. Second, (it is) because I know well the role he will be playing at a time when we are making efforts to carry out the (second) alternative of rehabilitation by avoiding [word indistinct] of confrontation, hence, I am not one of those who wish him to die. This is the background to the issue. Here, if you ask me if I want him to die then I will say that I do not want him to die. If you ask me what type of assistance was given to him to prevent his death then the answer is that the permission to take him to Israel was given primarily by the Israeli Government.

This did not require our interference, because they [Eritrea and Israel] have their own relations. If he had asked us to do so, we could have done it. However, as it was not necessary, we did not do it. Second, as regards the transport that was to go from Asmara to Tel Aviv, there was a request for it and we were in a position to help. But before we could offer assistance, other countries, which have more ability, offered to help. For this reason it was not even necessary for us to help with transportation. We could have given help if it had been needed. Because we were not needed, everything happened without our involvement. The reason why we did not help was that there was no need. If it had been necessary to save him, we could have done so.

[Reporter] Your Excellency, the AAPO says that using terms such as the Amhara ruling class, oppressors, oppressed and so on is a deliberate plan to divide the Amhara people. It also says that dividing people into classes is a communist system. How do you see this? [passage omitted]

In a related question again, there is a rumor that Muslims have been bribed to be used against Amhara Christians in the Arba Gugu conflict [central Ethiopia] which resulted in the Muslim community's anger in Addis Ababa. If this is the case, could this not intensify the problem together with the previous one? And what does the government plan to do to solve the problem?

[Meles] A claim which says that describing a ruling class as such is divisive reflects different views. The views of an Amhara farmer are different from those of others. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Your Excellency, my question concerns the two conferences held in our capital. One was aimed at stopping the devastating and destructive war in Somalia. Through your efforts in particular it was successful, and Somali organizations returned to their respective areas.

The second one concerns the conflicting parties in Angola, who are currently in our capital for peace talks. Here there are two dimensions. One side says that the fact that our country, which was in a devastating war, is now hosting peace conferences, reflects the situation in the country. Others say that it is a cheap thing done to mislead international opinion. How do you see these two things? Thank you.

[Meles] The main thing is that the concerned parties are not forces that Ethiopia invited and brought here. Neither did Ethiopia invite the Angolans to come here. The United Nations requested them to choose a place which they could agree on. There were many alternative places, especially among neighbors. There was disagreement at first and a workable agreement was then reached, whereby Addis Ababa was chosen, because it was the city containing the headquarters of the OAU and the Economic Commission for Africa. The same happened in the Somali case as well.

I had made it clear that the conference could be held in Mogadishu. The organizations themselves preferred Addis Ababa because of insecurity and lack of facilities for the conference in Mogadishu, and this was their stance and we accepted that. This does not seem a shame to me. We did not jump up and down telling them to come to Addis Ababa. It is not correct to see the efforts to bring peace to Somalia as a separate issue from the internal situation in Ethiopia.

There are factors that force us to act properly. When there are disturbances in Somalia the problem can cross over to our side through the influx of refugees. If there is peace in Somalia and new relations are created between our two countries, all of us can benefit in the economy and other sectors. If peace returns to Somalia we cannot remain unaffected. If peace returns to Somalia we can benefit together.

So, we did not invite the parties to the conference. We did not invite them to come, but they came of their own choice. Second, the Somali issue directly concerns us. The Angolan issue may not directly concern us due to its geographical distance. Ethiopia is now becoming stable. Addis Ababa is known as the seat of the OAU and they often use it as a venue.

Former Soldiers, Civilian Confess to Plotting Coup
AB0402094793 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 3 Feb 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In a domestic television program, four former members of Ethiopia's Army and a civilian have confessed to plotting to overthrow the interim EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front]-led government. According to one of the Army men, Colonel Daniel Tessema, who had served under ex-President Mengistu, the plot was hatched in conjunction with the Oromo Liberation Front, OLF, which has fallen

out with the interim government and withdrawn following last year's regional elections. The coup which was apparently supposed to happen in May last year. Abraham Fisseha faxed this report from Addis Ababa.

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to Col. Daniel Tessema, the original idea came from the OLF. Tessema said that he was approached by an OLF officer who told him that the EPRDF had failed to fulfill its agreement to organize a national army for the country. The OLF official said they were asking former members of the Army to join forces with the OLF instead of roaming the streets without jobs. Col. Tessema said that his group of mainly former soldiers, agreed to participate as reinforcements during attacks planned on the airport, the Ministry of Defense, the palace, and TV and radio stations. According to Tessema, his group consisted of about 1,500 men, of whom 750 were armed with assault rifles.

According to another of the men arrested in connection with the alleged coup plot who appeared on television, the plan was to attack strategic and economic targets. This would in turn disrupt the country's socioeconomic activity, and lead to civil unrest which would pave the way for removing the government by force. [end recording]

Afar: Deny Intention To Invade Eritrea

EA0302214093 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network
in Amharic 0900 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] The Afar People's Democratic Organization has said that the chauvinists should know that the oppressed Afar people have no intention of extending their territory by invading the Afar-populated areas of Eritrea. It says the Afar people want the rights of Afars everywhere to be respected. In its statement issued after assessing the current situation in the country, the organization denounced the chauvinists, saying they want to use them [the Afars] as an instrument for their bellicose policy.

Kenya

Moi Warns Those 'Bent on Creating Chaos'

EA0302213093 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600
GMT 3 Feb 93

[Italicized passages in Swahili]

[Excerpt] President Daniel arap Moi warned today that anyone bent on creating chaos in the country will face the law, irrespective of his status. President Moi was speaking outside KANU [Kenya African National Union] headquarters after a consultative meeting with top party officials at party headquarters. His warning came in the wake of reports that the opposition have planned demonstrations this weekend to protest the visit of British Minister for Overseas Development Baroness Lynda Chalker.

[Begin Moi recording] KANU knows its powers. KANU is aware that if this country has no peace, all that is being done will be wasted. And there is no one who will benefit from that.

Many are asking why is Parliament not opening, etc. They well know the Parliament procedures. What we did is what we had done even before. They know that the state opening of Parliament comes before everything else, but just because they cheated the citizens, they want to continue to lure them. They are saying six months are enough for them to shake this government. They ought to know [that the] government is here to stay. The government will govern.

You, the citizens, keep away from trouble. [end recording]
[passage omitted]

British Minister Not To Alter Agenda in Nairobi

EA04G2070093 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] British Minister for Overseas Development Baroness Lynda Chalker is expected in Nairobi this Friday [5 February] as scheduled. A British High Commission official in Nairobi told KTN today Chalker's program had not been altered in spite of threats from opposition leaders that the minister cancel her visit.

The opposition, mainly FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya and the Democratic Party of Kenya, claimed Britain helped President Moi and KANU [Kenya African National Union] win the recent multi-party elections and therefore have [as heard] nothing to do with Britain. They have threatened to organize a demonstration against Chalker if she insists on coming.

The British High Commission official said Lynda Chalker's program in Nairobi will be released later but that the minister will visit Somalia on Saturday [6 February] and return to Nairobi the following day.

British Official Denies Aid Suspended

EA0402070493 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] The British high commissioner to Kenya, Sir Kieran Prendergast, today denied that Britain has suspended her bilateral aid to Kenya. He said that his country had held back the quick disbursement of funds which was normally linked with the World Bank and IMF conditions.

The British envo said this when he met the Kenya foreign minister, Kalonzo Musyoka, at the minister's office in Nairobi. The minister pointed out that although some donor countries had dealt with Kenya unfairly, he wanted them to understand Kenya's current position now that the elections were over. He said that now that the country had embraced the multi-party system it was only right that she enjoys financial assistance from donor agencies. He emphasized that Kenya was only asking for her fair share and was not begging.

Somalia

UN Denies Split Over Command of Multinational Force

AB0402090893 Paris AFP in English 0314 GMT 4 Feb 93

[By Serge Arnold]

[Excerpts] Mogadishu, Feb 4 (AFP)—The U.N. operation which will take over peacekeeping duties in Somalia from U.S. troops will be "perhaps the largest" mounted to date by the world body, U.N. Special Envoy Ismat Kittani said here. However, he added that the transition between the current force of some 38,000 troops—which are operating under U.N. mandate but under U.S. command—and a new U.N.-led force would take several months.

The U.N. official also denied reports that there was a split between the United Nations and Washington over the transition of the multinational force from American to U.N. command. Kittani said there was "a great deal of meeting of minds about the timing and the modalities of transition" from U.S. to U.N. control.

"It is not true to say that the U.N. is dragging its feet or that the United States wants to get rid of a hot potato," he added.

The mechanics of the transition were currently being discussed by Washington and the U.N., he said, adding that there was "no question of an immediate transfer of command of the international intervention force to the U.N."

Kittani added: "The exact mandate is still under discussion but the tendency is to give an enforcement mandate rather than a traditional peacekeeping mandate." "For a country which has been uniquely destroyed like Somalia, putting the pieces together will take a long time. What we need is patience," Kittani said.

He refused to say whether U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali agreed with the U.S. that security had now been re-established in Somalia, but said an "enormous amount of change" had occurred since the international force arrived on December 9. [passage omitted]

In Mogadishu U.N. spokesman Farouk Mawlawi said Wednesday [3 January] that fresh clashes between rival clans had been reported in the southern Kismaayo region. The fighting, which breached the January 15 ceasefire signed by 14 Somali factions, cast doubt over a meeting due Monday [8 February] to prepare the agenda for a national reconciliation conference of Somalia factions. The conference is due to open in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa on March 15.

The clashes were between forces belonging to General Mohamed Said Hersi, known as Morgan, and Colonel Omar Jays, an ally of one of the main warlords, General Mohamed Farah Aidid.

Mawlawi said Belgian troops had discovered 15 bodies of Morgan's troops, all shot dead with their hands tied behind their backs. The multinational intervention force has launched an inquiry into the incident, said Mawlawi. Morgan has been attempting to recapture Kismayo from Jays, and U.S. and Belgian troops have already had to intervene to separate the two sides.

The U.N. spokesman said that U.S. Army helicopters had Tuesday [2 February] attacked Morgan's troops for the third time. Following the fighting Aidid's representatives threatened to boycott Monday's meeting of the seven-member agenda committee.

The Somali Patriotic Movement representative, Morgan's organization, said he too would skip the meeting, citing safety fears.

Mawlawi said Aidid's National Somali Alliance was demanding a ceasefire monitoring committee be set up as a pre-condition of attending Monday's meeting. Negotiations are now being held to save the meeting, the U.N. spokesman said.

Prime Minister Warns Against Rapid Foreign Pullout

PM0302162593 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Feb 93 p 5

[Interview with Somali Prime Minister Omar Arteh Ghalib by unidentified correspondent in Riyadh; date not given]

[Excerpts] [AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] To what extent has "Operation Restore Hope" succeeded in opening a new page? And how do you see the future of this operation if U.S. forces withdraw?

[Ghalib] Actually I seize this opportunity to profusely thank the United States, fraternal Arab states—the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Morocco—and the Arab and friendly states which have sent armed forces to Somalia to secure an acceptable solution to our issue. We began to appeal for the dispatch of these forces about nine months or a year ago, but they arrived late, after some 300,000 had died as a result of this disregard and delay. However, I am pleased to see these forces deployed throughout Somalia first to deliver food supplies to people in the remote areas, second to disarm people, which is very important aspect of this mission, and then to set up a military, police, or security force to assume the task of restoring security and stability in the country. These forces, however, should not hasten to return before their mission has been accomplished.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Do you believe there will be a risk of the situation reverting to what it was if international forces withdraw?

[Ghalib] Actually, that is what causes me to propose that these forces not withdraw until the aims I mentioned are achieved. [passage omitted]

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] There are calls in the United States that the situation in Somalia be put under an international mandate. What is your position on this and the chances of it being implemented?

[Ghalib] We completely reject this view and this process, just as we rejected it in the past. We do not want these international organizations or friendly states to move Somalia from one tragedy to another.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What are the chances of these talks being implemented?

[Ghalib] Actually, frankly I do not wish to hear that word, that is all.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Was this question raised during your recent visit to the United States?

[Ghalib] No, it was not.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What U.S. orientation did you sense during the visit, and is there any difference between the new administration and former administration on handling the Somalia issue?

[Ghalib] U.S. policy does not change radically. Actually, we went to the United States at an unsuitable time, that is, the transition from one administration to another. However, the talks were fruitful and there will be another opportunity for us to visit the United States in order to continue [to discuss] the essence of the issues in question.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What U.S. view was proposed to you to resolve the Somali crisis?

[Ghalib] Actually the United States, Western states, and fraternal Arab states hope that the local conferences being held in Borama and Addis Ababa will produce positive results that satisfy friends and brothers. So they are pinning big hopes on our role as Somalis—leaders and people—capable of eliminating these trivial disputes, so that our friends and brothers will be able to help us in the rebuilding process. No U.S. solution was proposed, and we respect them for this, as they put the cards on the table before us so that the solution will be secured by us Somalis—leaders and people—the people concerned. [passage omitted]

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What is the transitional government's future given the current situation in Somalia?

[Ghalib] We are not interested in remaining in power. This government has only a few months and then we will consult the people—let them choose what they want: either to hold new elections or to agree on something else. But we do not attach great importance to remaining [in power]. [passage omitted]

Tanzania**Government Increases Fuel Prices 3 Feb**

*EA0302192393 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 2 Feb 93*

[Summary] The government has increased fuel prices by an average of 21.4 percent effective 3 February. One liter of kerosene will now cost 113 shillings per liter, instead of 92 shillings; super petrol has been increased from 201 to 233 shillings per liter; and diesel will be sold at 155 instead of 129 shillings per liter.

Uganda**British High Commissioner Cautions NGO's**

*EA0302182093 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in
English 0700 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Text] The British high commissioner to Uganda, Mr. Charles Cullimore, has advised non-governmental organizations [NGO's] working in the field of human rights

observance in Uganda to refrain from irresponsible and unconstructive criticism. He advised them to adhere to the noble cause of protecting human rights and avoid turning it into a business.

Mr. Cullimore, who was officially launching a three-year program for human rights on [words indistinct] training, education, research and organizational cooperation for 1993-95 for the foundation for human rights initiative at the Speke Hotel in Kampala yesterday. Mr. Cullimore said NGO's have no right to engage in the luxury of cheap and unjustified criticism, especially when they do not have a better alternative to put forward. He declared that any serious and well-informed observer of the Ugandan scene today cannot contest the view that the situation is much better than it was under the arbitrary and capricious rule of Idi Amin and in the dark days of the early 1980s.

Mr. Cullimore was welcomed by the executive director of the Foundation for Human Rights Initiative, Mr. Livingstone Sewanyana.

De Klerk Says No NP Alliances Before Elections

*MB0302133193 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, says he does not expect the National Party [NP] to form any formal alliances with other parties before the next elections. However, he said that it was possible that alliances could be formed with like-thinking groups after the elections.

President de Klerk told a National Party media conference in Cape Town that he was convinced that the National Party would fare well in the elections, and that he also believed that the party was capable of achieving the most votes. President de Klerk also announced that the executive of the federal council of the National Party had decided to appoint a national information and management committee.

The Cape leader of the NP, Dr. Dawie de Villiers, will serve as chairman of the committee, and Transvaal MEC [member of the executive committee] Olaus van Zyl has been appointed as executive director from next month. The post of secretary general, which was earlier held by Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, falls away, while Mr. van Zyl in his permanent executive capacity will exercise overall control with a view to expanding support for the NP.

President de Klerk stressed that the NP was no longer exclusively a white party, and said that the party's office bearers would be representative of the party's supporters.

Government, ANC in 'Urgent Talks' on MK Role

*MB0402140293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1340
GMT 4 Feb 93*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town February 4 SAPA—Senior government ministers and the ANC [African National Congress] are locked in urgent talks on the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK): ANC military wing] over the smuggling of a large arms cache into Natal.

The minister of law and order, Mr. Hernus Kriel, the minister of constitutional development, Mr. Roelf Meyer, and ANC secretary general, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, were closeted in sensitive discussion on Thursday afternoon.

The talks are being held at an undisclosed city venue and are focused on the arms smuggling incident by MK operatives uncovered on Wednesday. The arms have allegedly been smuggled as part of an MK operation originating in Natal.

A government official confirmed the ministers and Mr. Ramaphosa were discussing extremely sensitive issues and said no announcements would be made afterwards.

Police found the arms during a routine check at a roadblock near Golela on the Natal/Swaziland border.

The weapons, which include two RPG-7 rocket launchers with six rockets, 34 handgrenades, close to 3,000 AK-47 rifle cartridges, nine Makarov pistols and 13 Stechkin pistols, were concealed under a false bottom in the boot of a car. Three ANC members were arrested.

The weapons are believed to have been smuggled into South Africa on the instructions of a senior ANC/MK official in Natal.

Security sources said a sworn statement by the official had been made before a magistrate.

The incident has catapulted what would have been low-level preparatory talks between the government and ANC to intense negotiations at national leadership level.

Bilateral talks between the government and the ANC had been planned at sub-committee level for Thursday and Friday in preparation for more talks at senior level next week.

The weapons find has suddenly altered the scope of these talks to include the top negotiators, and reopened an intensified debate on the role of MK which, it was agreed in 1990, would suspend the armed struggle to permit negotiations.

The government has persisted in its demands that the armed struggle should be abandoned, MK disbanded and arms caches surrendered in order for realistic negotiations to continue.

Recently negotiators have said the two sides were approaching a deal linking the ANC's surrender of control over its weapons' stockpile to sharing in political control over security forces.

The government is also eager to have the ANC register as a political party which will, by agreement, disqualify it from having a private army.

ANC Proposes Codesa Resume Meeting in March

*MB3001173793 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in
Afrikaans 1600 GMT 30 Jan 93*

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has asked that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] resume in March, and that an election be held before early next year. ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said in Durban that such a proposal was the result of discussions between the organization and the government. He expressed the hope that the Pan-Africanist Congress, Conservative Party, Azanian People's Organization, and other political organizations who did not attend Codesa I and II will participate.

According to Mr. Mbeki, the security force should be placed under the control of a multiparty structure to ensure free and fair elections.

Government Said Lacking Consensus on Powersharing*MB3101114393 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 31 Jan 93 p 10*

[Report by David Breier: "Democracy for SA under threat"]

[Text] Serious divisions in Government over negotiations have emerged as a major threat to democratic rule this year.

ANC [African National Congress] spokesmen told the Sunday Star they had been alarmed to discover in recent talks that Government negotiators had no clarity among themselves on their own bottom line when it came to power-sharing.

Sources close to the negotiations have revealed that the Government is increasingly aware that its official line on power-sharing is untenable. It has failed to sell its "troika" idea that leaders of the top three parties in the first election be equal partners in a revolving presidency, giving a minority party such as Inkatha the same power as the ANC.

Incredibly the Nats [National Party members; NP] now in effect have no power-sharing policy to put to the negotiation table.

Hawks such as Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel and Minister of Local Government Tertius Delport, are said to be increasingly out of step with chief Government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his senior officials.

Unless they find a new policy, there can be no meaningful negotiations, according to key sources.

The ANC has expressed willingness to share power even beyond the interim phase.

This week's defection of veteran Nat Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz to the Inkatha Freedom Party is said to be a symptom of growing confusion in the NP as the moment of truth approaches.

Hard bargaining on other crunch issues lies ahead, which could also set back timetables—the ANC wants non-racial elections this year, the Government by April next year.

The Government wants the elections to be held on a regional basis, which means determining borders and agreeing on regional powers before elections. The ANC wants the elected constitution-making body to decide on regional powers and borders.

The drawing of new regional boundaries, especially in the Transvaal, is regarded by negotiators as a highly complex and contentious task.

A compromise could take months to thrash out. This could involve holding some elections on a regional

basis—for example in KwaZulu, Natal and Bophuthatswana. The rest of the country could vote on a national list.

Complex negotiations still lie ahead on the incorporation of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei] "independent" homelands in time for an election. There is also the thorny question of registering millions of voters.

It emerged this week after the latest talks that the will exists in the Government and ANC to stick at least to the Government's timetable.

But ANC and Government negotiators are only now beginning to deal with the crunch issues.

Their sheer scope could cause serious delays, despite the sense of urgency due to the economy.

The Government and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] have not yet even begun to talk about constitutional details after the bad blood of the past few months. Their current talks centre only on the convening of a planning conference—talks about talks.

Informed political and diplomatic sources are now steeling themselves for a much longer and dirtier negotiation process than had been hoped for recently.

*** De Klerk's Support From Within NP Analyzed***93AF0290A Cape Town DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN in Afrikaans Dec/Jan pp 7-11*

[Article by Sybille Albrecht and Chris Louw: "F.W. and the Clumsy New NP (National Party)"; first paragraph is DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN introduction]

[Text] What is going on with F.W. de Klerk and the National Party [NP]? Apparently, the successor to P.W. Botha who managed to dramatically regain the strategic initiative on 2 February 1990, and thus to launch the new policy of negotiation, is increasingly struggling to get a grip on things. Is it simply a question of a lack of the necessary statesmanship and leadership by F.W. himself, or does the problem also lie with the party and government that are his power base? In a series of interviews with inside observers and political journalists—people who are in contact with F.W. and his advisors and who know what is brewing in the caucus and in the party organization, but cannot always be revealed to the outside—DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN tried to determine what the underlying political shifts surrounding de Klerk are and how his strange political moves should be understood.

As a year, 1992 was not a very good one for the de Klerk administration. After CODESA [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 1 was launched with fanfare and great expectations, the pieces of CODESA 2 must now be laboriously assembled. And what is striking is the extent to which the problems the NP government is facing are actually its own handiwork.

The ongoing political violence and the state of the economy are naturally basic facts with which any government will be confronted. But it was the NP government that decided there must be a special session of parliament in October, a session that then served no clear goal other than the unprecedented sight of an NP law that could not gain the required majority in parliament. It was President de Klerk who decided on his own that he needed a further indemnity law so much that it should be steamrolled through the presidential council in the most blatant manner.

Even this forcefulness made little impression. The clumsiness of the once-powerful state apparatus was once again demonstrated all too clearly for that to be the case. The release of the remaining political prisoners—including the Lucky Malazas—transformed, through an administrative blunder, what was to have been a political concession to the ANC [African National Congress] into a public debacle. The unilateral attempt to introduce cuts in its own business education was revoked within several weeks when (NP minister!) Abe Williams was frightened by the education union, which had begun to protest in the streets and threaten exam disruptions. One inquiry commission after another reports large-scale mismanagement and corruption in the homeland administrations.

And in the meantime, the NP party leadership is becoming more and more depleted. The unexpected departure of Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe in November underscores a clear and significant trend. One of the most striking characteristics of de Klerk as a political leader is that he did not bring any new political faces with him. After more than three years in power, his cabinet is still basically P.W. Botha's cabinet: The only really important newcomer is Derek Keys, and he is not actually a political figure. What de Klerk has done is to make some of the heavyweights from his predecessor's time politically harmless—Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok no longer inspire the respect that they used to. And other leading figures have left on their own. Barend du Plessis, once F.W.'s opponent for the state presidency, had a psychological breakdown due to work pressure. Then there is Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, until recently the mastermind of constitutional development, who had to withdraw from politics due to depression. Dr. Jannie Roux, the top man in the president's office, and Neil van Heerden, the key diplomatic figure in South Africa's return to the international stage, have both resigned with an eye on European ambassadorial posts. And now, Stoffel van der Merwe, assumed as NP secretary general to play the key role in negotiating policy: In an anything but convincing manner he declares that he is apparently not "motivated" enough for politics any more.

That leaves Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers, and Kobie Coetsee as all the senior figures with political weight and experience next to de Klerk in the NP leadership. De Klerk's national and international esteem as a person since 2 February leads one to easily overlook the more general phenomenon: Seldom or never has the group of

collective leaders of the NP government been as thin and shallow as now. What happened? In order to understand the NP leadership's current inabilities, it is necessary to take another look at the party's internal politics since de Klerk's famous speech. Here, insiders and observers close to the NP can tell an informative story.

F.W. and the National Party Caucus

As a political leader, de Klerk must first of all be able to convince his cabinet and caucus of the need for drastic changes, and take them along with him. When he announced his reform initiatives in parliament on 2 February, there was only a handful of people in the party who understood what this would actually mean. Only a few months earlier, the vast majority of Nationalists had waged a "total onslaught" election, during which advocates of negotiations with the ANC were depicted as traitors and dangerous radicals. A few people did understand what was at stake—people like Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers, Sam de Beer, Roelf Meyer, and Leon Wesels—and they would ultimately become de Klerk's allies and confidants in the negotiating process. "The rest of the caucus felt that it was not being informed," says a political observer. "The leadership also never presented a clear bottom line."

Initially, the rest of the cabinet and the caucus could live with this, thanks to early reform successes as well as the breaking of South Africa's years of isolation, the success of CODESA 1, the good relationship between de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, and the euphoric victory in the referendum.

Then there was the mess with CODESA, when de Klerk's disastrous "winter of discontent" also began, with mass action, boycotts, and strikes by the ANC and its alliance partners; death, murder, and violence in the townships; the worst economic recession in 60 years, with the attendant poverty and unemployment; the massacres at Boipatong and Bisho; and futile attempts to lure the ANC back to the negotiating table.

The result was a hardening of feelings in the NP. According to Prof. Willie Breytenbach of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, this hardening had its origins in Mandela's public scolding of de Klerk on the opening day of CODESA 1. Particularly, his charge that the government is implicated in the township violence deeply offended the Nationalists and gave rise to the feeling that the ANC cannot be trusted in negotiations. During those days, another observer says, the Nationalists began to grumble that de Klerk was only making concessions to the ANC; that the government was no longer a fighter for Afrikaner interests. Where thinking had initially been in the direction of a coalition with the ANC, the emphasis now shifted to a possible coalition against the ANC. A new mission was concocted in the party, namely that the NP and its alliance partners must and will win a first election "for the sake of South Africa." And suddenly the total

onslaught rhetoric began to be heard again, and it was announced that the NP refuses to sit in the same government with communists.

Three Afrikaans newspapers—backed by enlightened academics at Afrikaans universities—became lead singers in the new anti-ANC chorus.

Rebellion and Resistance

Perhaps because the ordinary members of parliament and other Nationalists did not know what was going on in the negotiation chambers, the feeling emerged in the party that the NP was only making concessions to the ANC and getting nothing in return, says a political journalist with a well-known National-oriented newspaper. "Coincidentally, this was not true. During the September negotiations, when it appeared that the ANC had gotten everything they asked for—such as the release of political prisoners, a ban on carrying dangerous weapons and on fencing in hostels in the townships—the ANC made important concessions on the principles of consensus to which an interim government and constitutional assembly will be constitutionally bound. But the government cannot afford to announce these concessions from the rooftops and make the ANC look like losers. Even though de Klerk points this out in the caucus, the members still say, "So what? Our voters cannot see that; the perception is still there that the ANC is the winner."

These perceptions first became obvious in September when Nationalists gave de Klerk and his allies—especially the Cape Province party leader, Dawie de Villiers—a piece of their mind at the Cape party congress. In crude and unsavory terms, there was talk of "ass-kissing" and "bending over for the ANC until you hurt your back." De Klerk was accused of alienating "his principal black ally," Buthelezi, and "other moderate leaders," such as Mangope; of not being strong enough in his criticism of the ANC alliance. This rebellion and hardening in the party was also clearly discernible at the recent session of parliament. "The guys are making no secret of the unrest within the party," a political correspondent for SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] remarks with astonishment. "Even in the corridors they are walking around grumbling openly."

Actually, it is a wonder that de Klerk's support is only now beginning to unravel, says Willie Breytenbach. All the other large political parties have already lost support in a sense. The extent of de Klerk's change of political course was so great that dissatisfaction could have been expected a long time ago.

The current disillusionment with de Klerk is attributed to the fact that many Nationalists are only now beginning to realize that power-sharing is not a feasible option; that the party is going to lose power within the next year or two, and that members of parliament, party organizers, state officials, and other bureaucrats will be out of work.

It is precisely on the level of party organization that the NP is currently facing unprecedented problems. Organizers, who earn relatively small salaries, see no future for themselves in politics and are resigning en masse. Those who remain are demoralized and moreover face financial problems; at least four NP organizers have had to sell their houses over the past year in order to settle other debts.

But the greatest problems are yet to come for de Klerk, when the state budget is cut in an effort to get the economy back on the road to recovery. Indeed, the state bureaucracy is already in an uproar over the implications of the cutbacks, although the full storm has not yet even struck. Political observers point out that it is precisely these people, together with the business world, who make up an important part of de Klerk's and the NP's base of support. They will have to be sacrificed if de Klerk wants to get the economy going before the first democratic elections, possibly in October of next year.

"I do not know how de Klerk is going to take his constituency along with him," says a senior political journalist, "but he is trying—that is why he jumps when newspaper editors start to get cheeky...."

Spillers in Cabinet and Party

De Klerk's greatest weakness is the lack of experience and brainpower in his cabinet, and the lack of political talent in the NP pool from which he must make new appointments. "Just look at who he has on the party board (which consists of the national leader, the four provincial leaders, and the secretary general): a reactionary old George Bartlett from Natal, who supports Buthelezi in his mischief when he starts talking about devolution, and the unpredictable Kobie Coetsee."

"And look at who he has in the caucus," says a Johannesburg political consultant. "His whips, Alex van Breda, Keppies Niemann, and Frik van Deventer, are men who were brought up in politics by P.W. Botha."

Reference is made to the singular role of Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee. He is not regarded as part of de Klerk's inner circle, but prior to 1990 he played a key role in the release of Mandela and the initial contact with the ANC. "If you analyze de Klerk's speech of 2 February, it is clear that around 70 percent of what is in it comes from Coetsee—especially the issues of releases and negotiations. Today, he is a difficult case. No one knows exactly where he stands—aside from the fact that he is difficult," says a parliamentary journalist.

No one will go so far as to assert that Coetsee is scheming or mobilizing against de Klerk, but it is clear that time and again he has thrown a monkey wrench into the negotiations. For example, it was he who linked the idea of general amnesty to negotiations with the ANC. "His attitude probably has a lot to do with bitterness. He really saw himself as the Great Negotiator, the man who brought about Nelson Mandela's release. He also likes to refer to his friendship with Mandela. He really believed

that he should have gotten the post of chief negotiator, which went to Gerrit Viljoen and later to Roelf Meyer," says a well-informed academic.

Another thorny problem in the cabinet is Tertius Delpoort, who as Roelf Meyer's deputy plays a key role in the negotiating process. "There are serious differences between Roelf and Tertius," it is said. "Roelf is honest and forthright. He already knows how to negotiate if it appears that something could be sensitive. And then he negotiates until he gets it right and knows that it will not be torpedoed politically. Like Coetsee and the old guard, Delpoort still thinks that we can get by with clever tricks, by lobbying a little here and talking to diplomats there. If you reach a deadlock at the negotiating table, then you just force it through in parliament. When Gerrit Viljoen was still in the cabinet, he kept Delpoort under control. Now Gerrit is no longer there and Delpoort does not work well with Roelf—to such an extent that Delpoort is often sidelined. That is probably why he was one of the objectors in the Cape Province caucus, when they gave F.W. a piece of their mind."

It is interesting that in his day Delpoort was regarded as one of the most enlightened members of parliament in the NP caucus, a typical enlightened politician from the Cape. "One of his first jobs was to go sort out administrative problems in Natal, between the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu Administration. That was when he first encountered black people and their problems, was shocked, and simply performed an about-face."

There are more and more people in the NP who see a big role for Magnus Malan in the future, "especially the guys in Intelligence who run around and actually talk a lot of nonsense and spread disinformation that is clearly aimed at destroying the negotiation process."

One of the most respected political analysts in the country says bluntly that de Klerk will get nowhere with reform unless he chops out the pile of deadwood from the P.W. era—"That is true of the cabinet, the bureaucrats, the intelligence services, and the security forces. If people get in the way of his reform initiatives, he must simply send them packing. I cannot understand why he does not do this."

Swaggering in the NP Press

The same observer points out that de Klerk's recent problems only prove once again that the National Party's newspapers—especially the National Press Group—cannot allow any NP leader to look after the interests of all South Africans. "These newspapers were founded to protect Afrikaner interests, and they will tolerate statesmanship from a national leader only if Afrikaner interests are not threatened by that."

In the most recent dispute between the South African Agricultural Union and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] on labor legislation (see article on page 18 [not reproduced]), for example, it would be politically important for de Klerk to take the workers'

side. "There are more farmworkers in South Africa than farmers, and they are potential supporters at the ballot box." This same is true of the conflict surrounding the small income that lobster fishermen on the west coast earn relative to the enormous amount of money that lobster costs in restaurants. "The lobster fishermen represent a large constituency, and the NP must be seen as serving their interests. That is how a political party attracts votes."

Apparently the NP-oriented newspapers cannot understand this. Although those newspapers tried to temper their harsh anti-ANC rhetoric after 2 February 1990, there has never really been understanding for the ANC's position or for the sensitive issues in the negotiating process. Consequently, it was the faithful NP mouthpiece *DIE BURGER* that expressed (or fomented?) the Cape rebellion against de Klerk in September when columnist Dawie warned that too many things in the country "are sliding along" and that the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance "is getting its way in the negotiations much too easily."

These were the first signs of open revolt against de Klerk. But this was not completely unexpected. Before then, the National Press publications had already gone out of their way to inflame feelings about things such as the flag and the national anthem, and bitter attacks had been launched against ANC champion athletes. After the Cape party congress, "Dawie" was presumably proud of the way in which the party leadership had been forced back to the straight and narrow. And the National Press magazine *INSIG* warned the state president that he is "bound" to the assurance that he gave the party that he will not "capitulate" or "transfer power to the ANC." From now on, *INSIG* warned, "the government's actions at the negotiating table will be monitored with a magnifying glass. Watch out!"

"The role of the National Press publications and their ability to throw monkey wrenches into the processes of reconciliation and negotiation should not be underestimated," says an academic.

In reality, the National Press represents only the interests of the Cape Afrikaner establishment. And that establishment, according to Willie Breytenbach, wants to reintroduce a "civilized approach" to politics. Especially the release of the White Wolf and Lucky Malaza convinced them that de Klerk must be held in check. The state president's "capitulation" at the NP congress in East London ushers in a new era in which the Cape National Party ("After all, F.W.'s strongest support is in the Western Cape") will assert itself more and more.

The Dilemma of the Political Reformer

"De Klerk and his inner circle are actually in an untenable position," said a journalist after the recent session of parliament. "They must govern the country, but they must also negotiate—knowing that they will not emerge from the process as the winner. At the same time, they must also consider party interests, knowing that we are on the eve of

an election. It is certainly the most difficult position in which any politician can find himself. How do you keep your herd together under such circumstances? It is impossible. That is not asked of any other political party. Ronnie Kasrils can simply roam around Bisho and if Goldstone asks the ANC to charge him and they do not do it, then no one will be the wiser. The NP does not dare not send him to the Goldstone Commission."

Political commentators point out that de Klerk's reputation was to a great extent linked to his good relationship with Nelson Mandela, and to the negotiating process. When that process fell through and his relationship with Mandela soured, his reputation locally and in the eyes of the international community began to fade. While invitations from overseas poured into Tuynhuis and the Union Building before and during CODESA 2, this has dried up in recent times. His visit to Great Britain to see the Springboks play at Twickenham took place at the invitation of the South Africa Club—and not at the invitation of the British Government.

The way in which he recently forced his party's indemnity law through the presidential council after Kobie Coetsee was unable to steamroller it through parliament damaged de Klerk even further. Locally and overseas, he was suddenly exposed as "just another politician playing petty power politics." There was no longer any question of the moral high ground; the same F.W. de Klerk who promised in February 1990 to "mop up every vestige" of death squads and other underground activities has become an advocate of legislation that would ensure that the sins of the past are swept under a rug of secrecy. It was an almost pathetic de Klerk who alleged in Agenda during the second week of November that after the referendum the ANC had begun a successful campaign to undermine his credibility, "perhaps because I have become too popular."

Whither Reform?

"Because de Klerk's reputation is inextricably linked to the reform wagon, he goes out of his way to keep the reform process going," says one of the observers with whom DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN spoke.

"Previously one could still say that the NP and the ANC were headed for a partnership," says Breytenbach, "but now that is no longer feasible. That is why it is necessary to go through Phase One of an interim government, based on agreements reached between the ANC and the government—and where unelected players in CODESA will play an important role. During that period, the ANC and the government will govern together, with seven portfolios that will be managed by the interim government. Joe Slovo's *sunset clauses* contribute to making this possible, although they contribute nothing to the interim government."

The hardening within NP ranks does not mean that a solution other than an interim government in which the ANC plays an important role is being sought, says Breytenbach. It does mean that the NP will place much greater

emphasis on regional government. According to NP calculations, the ANC will control significantly fewer regions in the country than is generally expected. It is even being said that the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] could win the Northern Transvaal region in an election. "But de Klerk is in a hurry to have an interim government," Breytenbach thinks. "According to Keys, we are in a big mess economically and an interim government is linked to the lifting of sanctions, including by the Commonwealth."

The negotiation process that he helped launch could in the end turn out to be de Klerk's political salvation. In the party, cabinet, and NP press, he is indeed weaker, but in the context of an interim government of national unity, he could have the opportunity to become a truly national figure. If, however, he chooses the political ties with the traditional Afrikaner interests, then he, the negotiation process, and the country are in trouble.

IFP Warns Against Government-ANC 'Bilateralism'

MB0302183893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1820
GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Ulundi Feb 3 SAPA—The kwaZulu legislative assembly has warned South Africa will be plunged into civil war if the government and the African National Congress [ANC] attempt to drive the negotiation process in their bilateral talks.

"We reaffirm our conviction that the bilateralism pursued by Mr. Roelf Meyer (constitutional development minister) with the ANC is enormously dangerous for South Africa," the legislature said in a resolution after a caucus meeting in Ulundi on Wednesday [3 February].

"The negotiation process will come to nought and will lead South Africa into civil war if the South African Government and the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance continue to attempt to direct events from their bilateral negotiation base."

In another resolution the assembly said kwaZulu would ignore any agreements reached in any negotiation forum it was not part of. The self-governing territory was denied representation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

"No negotiation conclusions reached in any negotiation forums could be expected to be successfully implemented in the kwaZulu/Natal region, or in any other region," the legislature said.

The assembly members added they would not agree to the resumption of constitutional negotiations against the promise that the inclusion of kwaZulu would be placed on the agenda for multiparty discussions. [sentence as received]

They also condemned the "racism" inherent in the government criticism of the paper presented by IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] National Chairman Dr. Frank Mdlalose during bilateral talks with the government recently. Reports said the meeting ended in acrimony.

The government had said IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been ill-advised in the preparation of the paper. The two sides have since held talks to patch up their relations.

Will Not Negotiate Without KwaZulu

MB0402081493 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] The caucus of the kwaZulu legislative assembly says it identifies with the standpoint of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi that multiparty negotiations can succeed only if kwaZulu sends a delegation to the negotiation table.

The caucus said it agreed with Dr. Buthelezi that neither the caucus nor the IFP would return to negotiations unless agreement were reached that kwaZulu should be a partner in the negotiations from the beginning. It pointed out that it had insisted during the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] negotiations that the Zulu king and the kwaZulu Government should have been represented along with other parties.

ANC's Dalling Predicts ANC-SACP Split

MB0402091393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0835 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] Cape Town Feb 4 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] and the SACP [South African Communist Party] would probably separate, Mr Dave Dalling, the independent MP for Sandton and ANC member said on Thursday.

Addressing a media briefing, he said: "I am not a communist and will never be."

The ANC/SACP alliance was a historical connection brought about by the oppression of the government.

On alleged abuses in ANC camps outside South Africa, Mr Dalling said the leadership, including ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela, accepted responsibility for what might have happened.

There would be a commission of inquiry of the highest standing and independent of the ANC and then the leadership would take action.

"Nobody can in any way justify what is said to have happened in those camps."

On sanctions, he said he did not think any of the ANC-aligned MPs supported them but "we realised that it was the only soft option for the ANC".

He believed sanctions should be phased out as rapidly as democracy was phased in.

Mr Dalling said one of his most compelling reasons for leaving the DP [Democratic Party] and joining the ANC was that the DP and NP [National Party] seemed to be converging on policy—particularly in last year's referendum—and he wished to associate with those who suffered under apartheid.

"We joined the ANC to promote non-racial policies in practice."

The ANC was "certainly" more democratic than the United Party, and no less so than the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] and the DP—all of which he had served during a 30-year long political career.

The MPs who had defected to the ANC had given the organisation its first voice in Parliament.

He did not regard the DP as an enemy and believed there would still be a role for such a party in the future.

Johannesburg Taxi Drivers Continue Protest

MB0402070293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0619 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Johannesburg Feb 4 SAPA—Johannesburg townships erupted in chaos on Wednesday [3 February] when angry taximen stoned and petrol bombed commuter buses, and police used live ammunition to control crowds, as the city centre taxi anarchy spread to Eldorado Park and Soweto. [passage omitted]

On Thursday morning officials reported it was quieter. Johannesburg city centre traffic was moving smoothly and few mini-bus taxis were seen. Municipal buses from Johannesburg as well as neighbouring towns were packed with commuters—mostly black people finding their way to work.

Johannesburg was declared an unrest area on Tuesday. Heavily armed riot police patrolled the streets on Thursday.

Worker absenteeism of between 80 and 90 per cent was reported and retail business was slashed by half.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said all taxis were blocked from entering the city centre and police would continue to turn them away until the "situation was sorted out". However, another spokesman, Colonel Dave Bruce, denied there had been any strategy to stop taxis from entering central Johannesburg.

In a statement, Col Bruce said the only requirement was that drivers were expected to adhere to the laws.

"The SAP [South African Police] in fact encourages taxi drivers to return to work and convey passengers to their destinations." [passage omitted]

Thousands of taxi drivers, impatiently awaiting the outcome of talks on the heated taxi dispute, vowed they would not operate on Thursday and threatened continued violence against commuters using other modes of transport.

Heavily-armed police and taxi-owners squared up on the main Soweto road Wednesday morning.

Soweto taxi association Chairman M. J. Simelane and SAP Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Looock came to an agreement after drivers had initially demanded to be escorted en masse into the city centre.

Cheering taxi drivers were then escorted to the Central Methodist Church for a meeting with COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and traffic police. They were met by armed police and members of the Internal Stability Unit.

All Small Street mall shops closed their doors and hawkers packed up stalls, anticipating trouble.

Police chased after a few taxi drivers who, after off-loading passengers, did u-turns and raced away down Pritchard Street. In a brief chaotic moment, they drove their vehicles into the intersection of Market and Von Wielligh streets and ran away. Within seconds the area was swarming with riot police and the intersection had been cleared.

The Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (SABTA), which has condemned the drivers' action but acted as a facilitator in negotiations on Wednesday, was denounced by angry taxi drivers. The taximen called for a new taxi association which would respect their views and look after their interests.

Earlier, during a break in the meeting, the chanting drivers charged a traffic officer who was issuing a parking ticket to another motorist. The officer had to be rescued from the mob by an armed policeman.

The tense meeting ended on Wednesday afternoon with armed riot police ordering drivers to disperse.

Taxi drivers will meet again at the same venue on Thursday (this) morning to continue discussions on whether to suspend their action.

Emergency talks—between the city council, its traffic department and taxi driver representatives, assisted by the trade union federation COSATU—ended in dead-lock Wednesday. The parties failed to reach agreement on the release of drivers arrested and vehicles impounded on Tuesday.

They did, however, agree to establish a multi-party forum to probe taxi drivers' grievances which centre largely on alleged harassment by traffic officials.

Col Bruce said police were hopeful that talks would be successful, but were "ready for any kind of contingency" on Thursday (today). Large numbers of policemen would continue to patrol the city.

COSATU Assistant General-Secretary Sam Shilowa, speaking on behalf of the taxi drivers, warned there was still potential for conflict if no resolution was achieved.

Mr Shilowa told a press conference after the discussions that the Johannesburg Traffic Department had refused to grant the taxi drivers' demand to waive or suspend fines on mini-buses impounded after blockades on Wednesday (yesterday) and on Tuesday.

Taxis impounded on Monday would be released unconditionally.

The authorities had also refused to allow the taxi drivers arrested during the disruptions to be released on warning, Mr Shilowa said.

Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau had agreed after discussions that the original bail offers of up to R[and]5,000 could be reduced to R300.

Mr Shilowa said he hoped that after further discussions with COSATU lawyers (Thursday (today)), the attorney-general would agree to allow those arrested to be released on their own recognisance.

The taxi drivers would in return give their addresses and assurances that they would stand trial for any charges put to them.

He said the taxi drivers have been asked to exercise restraint pending the outcome of today's (Thursday's) talks.

The SAP and traffic authorities said they would not tolerate any more violence after the city centre carnage left one person dead on Tuesday and at least 32 people injured.

Twenty six taxi drivers appeared in the Johannesburg magistrate's courts yesterday (Wednesday) on charges of obstructing traffic.

Senior Public Prosecutor C. F. Krause said some paid R300 bail and were released, while others were warned to appear in court. The hearings were postponed to February 19.

Col Bruce said the drivers of the majority of the impounded taxis were free to fetch their vehicles, but at this stage would still have to pay the usual fines for obstruction and charges for towing and impounding.

But 70 of the vehicles whose engine or chassis numbers had been tampered with would not be released. Several of these taxis have been positively identified as stolen, Col Bruce said.

Ciskei Court Denies Gqozo Exemption From Testifying

MB0202163193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1530
GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Mdantsane Feb 2 SAPA—The Ciskei Appellate Division on Tuesday [2 February] scrapped two decrees exempting military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo from testifying in a court of law. The widow of Col Onward Guzana, Vivie Guzana, had applied to the Bisho Supreme Court to have the two decrees set aside.

An inquest into the deaths of Col Guzana and Charles Sebe, who were shot dead on January 27, 1991 after plotting a coup in Ciskei, was set up in the Bisho Supreme Court recently and Brig Gqozo was subpoenaed to give evidence. Brig Gqozo then filed an affidavit declining to testify at the inquest and citing "workload" and "the prevailing political climate" as reasons.

In its judgment on Tuesday, the Appellate Division said the two decrees were invalid because they conflicted with the Constitution. It also maintained Mrs Guzana had relied on a section in the bill of rights which provided that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights before the law".

"The two decrees, by conferring on the chairman of the council of state (Brig Gqozo) greater protection against having to testify than that possessed by other citizens, placed him above his subjects before the law," the court ruled. The court declared both decrees null and void and ordered the council of state to pay the costs of the application, including the costs of two advocates.

Ciskei's Gqozo Hospitalized for 'Spinal Problems'

MB0302155493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1515
GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Bisho Feb 3 SAPA—Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo will have medical tests under the supervision of an orthopaedic specialist after being hospitalized at a private hospital in Cape Town, it was announced on Wednesday [3 February]. In a statement, Ciskei's Military Council said the tests were recommended and arranged by Brig Gqozo's physician who had been treating him for spinal problems.

Defense Minister's Statement on National Service

MB0302193693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1858
GMT 3 Feb 93

[Statement by Defense Minister Gene Louw issued by the SA Communication Service on 3 February]

[Text] As a result of certain interpretations surrounding the national service system, I would like to state the government's position in this regard: 1. As I have mentioned before, there is no question of the system of national service being abolished. It certainly is a matter that will, after all, have to be addressed during the

negotiation process. A new constitutional dispensation however, will have to decide about the form of national service in such a dispensation. The South African Defence Force already is considering a number of possibilities because the present system must be changed in order to implement multi-racial national service. 2. The national service system still remains the only guaranteed source of personnel supply, an essential source in view of the Defence Force's present operational commitments and also to serve as a feeding source for the part-time force. A form of national service must therefore be maintained, otherwise the reserve source will disappear. 3. It is a fact that national service in its current format (for whites only) will and must change. Changes will depend on the progress in the negotiation process and the introduction of a transitional government. It will apply to all South Africans. There can be no national service for whites only in a multi-racial non-racist system of government. A discriminating service system will simply be out of step in a government system free of discrimination. 4. Developments with regard to national service, as in politics, are fluid and security factors must amongst others be taken into account. It therefore is not possible to link a change in the system to specific dates. 5. It is not feasible to change national service overnight which implies that the current system will have to be retained during the transitional phase to a new dispensation. 6. Should there be an election before December 1993, it is clear that the January 1993 intake could be the last January intake in its present form. 7. Should an election take place after December 1993, the state of negotiations at that stage, the date of the election and the form thereof will determine possible future intakes. 8. There will definitely be a July 1993 intake. 9. The present periodical call-up of part-time force members (Citizen Force and Commando's) continues obviously as at present. 10. Action will still be taken against those who fail to report for military service. Should this not be the case, service call-ups will become meaningless and dependent on the subjective decision of the national serviceman. 11. A new system known as the voluntary period service system was introduced by the Defence Force on 1 December 1992 as contingency planning resulting from uncertainty about national service in a new dispensation. The system provides for members of all population groups to voluntarily join the Defence Force for fixed periods, which vary between 2 to 6 years. This system is complementary to the present national service system and does not replace it.

PAC Head Welcomes Statement

MB0302185193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1443
GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Johannesburg Feb 3 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) on Wednesday [3 February] welcomed the announcement by Defence Minister Gene Louw that the recent call-up of national servicemen might be the last of its kind for whites only.

PAC Secretary-General Benny Alexander said in a statement because the demise of white rule was inevitable and there was no military threat against South Africa, an apartheid army was no longer required.

"Mr Gene Louw would do the smooth transition to the next government a great service if he drastically winds down the South African Defence Force and leaves it up to the next government to replace it with a non-racial national army of the people.

"Mr Louw would also serve the economy well if he immediately releases from the SADF those on special leave from their places of employment, those skilled individuals who are likely to find easy employment, and all those who wish to leave the SADF with immediate effect," Mr Alexander said.

Purchase of 50 Swiss Planes To Proceed

MB0402081393 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] The planned sale of 50 Swiss aircraft to South Africa is to go ahead for the time being.

The Swiss foreign department said the transaction was not a breach of United Nations sanctions against South Africa, as the planes were unarmed and not intended for military use. The United Nations has already said that the sale goes against the spirit of United Nations arms embargo, and the ANC [African National Congress] has also spoken out against the 500-million-rand transaction. The department said the export of the planes did not contravene Swiss law, which forbids the export of war materiel to South Africa.

*** Retired Officer Comments on Military Events**

93AF0290B Cape Town DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN in Afrikaans Dec/Jan pp 12-16

[Interview with Col. Jan Breytenbach, (Ret.), by Chris Louw; place and date not given: "Profile of a Combat Soldier"]

[Text] Colonel Jan Breytenbach is a purebred soldier, a veteran of the wars in Ovambo, Angola, and Mozambique. Some of South Africa's most feared military units were founded by him—including the infamous 32d Battalion, which was strung together into a formidable combat unit from FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] deserters, and the Special Forces that are now in the spotlight due to the Webster inquiry.

As a professional soldier, Jan Breytenbach has had a glorious career. His fearlessness, his loyalty toward his men, his love of nature, and his solitary struggle against ivory smuggling by senior members of the Security Forces are legendary. Even if he has never been directly involved in politics, his views on national affairs are important. It is sometimes contended that President F.W. de Klerk's initiatives are sharply limited by the fear

that he could lose the support of the security establishment—not at the level of the generals, but at the lower officer ranks, especially at the colonel level.

How do the colonels feel about the political changes going on in the country? What do they talk about among themselves? For years, under orders from the National Party government, they waged war against the same ANC [African National Congress] people who have now become part of the negotiation process in this country. Will they accept it if political power is transferred to the ANC?

In his book *The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist*, his brother, the poet and ANC member Breyten Breytenbach, tells of how their father asked then-Prime Minister John Vorster to release him (Breyten) after he had been thrown in jail on a charge of terrorism. "Vorster answered by saying that he did not feel free to be of any assistance to my father and advising him to be consoled by the fact that he had another son, Jan, who was an Afrikaner hero. He went on to illustrate his point by referring to the precedent of General Christian de Wet, who was a Boer hero, and his brother, also a general, called Piet de Wet, who after two years fighting had gone over to the British. Yes, Vorster said, unfortunately we know from history that within the same family we can have a hero and a traitor."

Today, South African politics have changed so much that Breyten's political convictions are gradually becoming the rule, while pressure is building to expose the activities of the security forces to public scrutiny. "My brother has the distinction of having lost every war in which he participated," Breyten himself said in response to a question from the audience at last year's WEEKLY MAIL book week.

Jan Breytenbach, in his mid-50's, is retired and living in the town of Salem in the Eastern Cape, halfway between Port Elizabeth and East London. He watches as everything for which he fought, for which he risked his life, is in the process of crumbling. Recently, there were reports to the effect that he is assembling mercenaries to fight in Zaire in order to help keep President Mobutu in power. He emphatically denies this.

But what does Jan Breytenbach think about the political changes in this country—changes that now put his military role in an entirely different context than when he took up arms for what he believed his country wanted? This is how our interview went:

[Louw] Do ordinary soldiers in the defense force accept that a major political revolution is coming?

[Breytenbach] That is not something about which we argue. Gen. Constant Viljoen has always said that the defense force is there to keep the wolf away from the door while the politicians sort out their mess. The wolf is the communist-type governments that have taken root in the north, in Angola and Mozambique. And then there

was SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], with its goal of setting up a communist government in South-West Africa. We understood quite well that South Africa would be the next stepping stone.

[Louw] Were you a supporter of apartheid?

[Breytenbach] I was very lucky in the sense that I served in the British Navy for five years, from 1956 to 1961. You get a different perspective there. When I came back, I was not a supporter of apartheid, but definitely not a supporter of socialism or communism either; it fouls things up all over the bloody world.

We in the defense force were attuned to fighting communism wherever we encountered it, because it was a greater evil than apartheid.

[Louw] Is it not inherently a case of you fighting for something that is clearly going to change?

[Breytenbach] It is going to change, yes, but we fight so that it can be better, not worse. We wanted a system in which every right-thinking—not rightist-thinking—person in South Africa could come into his own, black or white, pink or khaki, no matter what the color of your skin. We as officers waged war together with black troops in the 32d Battalion. There is no such thing—especially among fighting soldiers—as derogatory racial attitudes toward the men with whom you have to face lead. In that case, he is fighting here beside you. How can you then say, "Look, old kaffir, once the fighting is over go back to your post; don't mix here with me" (laughs heartily), while only a few days earlier you were together with him in the bush and ate with him, fought with him, and braved danger with him?

There was no such thing as a bar for blacks and a bar for whites, just an officers bar and a noncommissioned officers bar, and an enlisted men's bar. Naturally there were cultural differences, because they are Portuguese, and we are English/Afrikaans. And of course we did not rip open each other's fly simply because we were all in the same unit. But we had infinite respect for them. We felt that that approach should also be applied to normal life in South Africa.

[Louw] When did you realize that things would not work out as you expected?

[Breytenbach] I left the defense force in 1987, during the time of the Cuito Cuanavale stories. But I had long since known that South-West Africa would be "handed over." Toward the end I realized that South-West Africa would definitely be nothing other than SWAPO. I saw the writing on the wall.

[Louw] You knew then that the politicians would work out an agreement that would put SWAPO in power?

[Breytenbach] It was always funny for us when we gave SWAPO a good beating—which happened regularly, with Operation Reindeer, Operation Protea, Operation Askari—and went into Angola and captured a large part of southern

Angola and chased FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and SWAPO out, then old Pik Botha traveled north with his briefcase in the direction of Lunenburg and gave everything back to SWAPO and FAPLA. Consequently, you had a situation where we began to train FAPLA and SWAPO in waging war.

[Louw] You mean indirectly?

[Breytenbach] Yes, because now they were dug in better, better organized, and they could see what they had done wrong in the past. We gave them training regularly—live ammunition training. We kill a bunch of them and then they get a little smarter. Their antiaircraft around their bases improved infinitely, especially after the attack on Kassinga, when they were attacked with paratroopers. I happened to be the commander of that operation.

They were at the terminus of a terribly large logistical system provided by the Russians. They had weaponry that is not intimidated by anything. We had a logistical system that was small, because we are a small country. It takes three weeks for Lyttleton Engineering to build one G5 cannon. And then you still have to develop the ammunition. We had technically good weaponry, but we could not keep up.

[Louw] Was the lack of weapons the only reason that you could not keep up?

[Breytenbach] We also started doing things very wrong. Toward the end, with Cuito Cuanavale, when old Savimbi started to get thrashed, two, four, five FAPLA brigades began to advance on Mavinga along three different attack axes, spread very wide apart. Then, in the opinion of most of us who were there, the wrong strategy was used.

There was such a long corridor—around 180 km—leading from Menongue, which spread out in the direction of Cuito Cuanavale. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] was on both sides of it. FAPLA provided troops along this corridor, by means of an entire brigade that had to accompany all their logistical supplies in order to keep UNITA away. There were seven FAPLA brigades—the cream of the troops—at the point of this corridor. Five brigades were used to steer the attack and one brigade to hold Cuito Cuanavale, and the other brigades set up a forward logistical base.

And then we went in our wisdom and said that the advance had to be stopped at the Lomba River. This was done—no problem. They were stopped there by the 32d Battalion. Then they said, "Right, now you must pursue the chaps and push them back to Cuito Cuanavale." Where they were spread out over a very wide terrain, we pushed them back and concentrated them on a very narrow front, and they became stronger.

Now we were sitting there fighting the head of this snake and we could not get any farther than just outside Cuito

Cuanavale. On the eastern bank of the river there was some high ground where we were positioned. They were concentrated on the western bank of the river. We could not get through; moreover, the river was so swampy that it further hampered matters. The answer—and we all know it, old Jan Geldenhuys knows it, and I know it—was that we should not have gone for Cuito Cuanavale. We should have gone for Menongue, and cut off FAPLA's choke precisely where the corridor began. It was apparently as a result of political pressure that we were prevented from doing this. If we had been permitted to cut off FAPLA there, the whole lot of them would have had no fuel, all their tanks. And a tank, even if it has a 105mm gun on it, if it has no fuel, is a bloody war memorial for a moth ball. It's just bloody well nothing at all. Think about what would happen if you destroyed their eight brigades—with only that one South African brigade that you used there at Cuito Cuanavale.

But by fighting the head of the snake, we committed our own very limited force—but at the same time the largest force that we were capable of mustering—to the battle together with UNITA. Consequently, we had no other place to take action, neither in South-West Africa nor in Angola. When the man with the beard, old Fidel Castro, saw his boys being pushed back a little, the men running away—we actually destroyed two of their brigades—he dispatched the 51st Division by sea from Havana to help out. They had five brigades, Cuban brigades, and they went straight to the area across the Ovamboland border to stare at us—a border where there were no South African troops on the other side. There was nothing (laughs) between their position and the Orange River; they could have charged right through if they had wanted to.

Then Pik Botha and Magnus Malan trotted off to Brazzaville saying that we are now talking to these people from a strong position; there will be no winners, but no losers either.

There were definitely losers, and it was not they (Cubans and FAPLA).

[Louw] How did it happen that the wrong decisions were made?

[Breytenbach] I do not know whether it was intentional or accidental, but we ended up in a situation where we could go no further. As a result of Pik Botha's actions from years before, the war escalated to beyond our capabilities.

[Louw] I have the impression that a bunch of guys in the defense force believed to the very end that the government had some strategy or another against SWAPO. At the beginning of 1989 I attended an intelligence session by the defense force in Windhoek where it was shown on maps how South Africa had won the battle around Cuito Cuanavale and what the strategy was to neutralize SWAPO.

[Breytenbach] Let me tell you this—they do have the "com-ops" organization in the defense force, and certainly still do now. I did not think anything about the scoundrels. They were guys doing "climate-influencing" work. Well, climate-influencing basically means that you lie. It is propaganda. They had a lot to do with that story—especially after the cease-fire when the United Nations came in—that SWAPO would not win the election. I told them, "You're talking [expletive deleted], man. SWAPO is going to win."

When you are withdrawing your forces from an area and they are in three or four camps, and the terrorists must pretend to lay down their weapons and demobilize, you cannot tell a soldier that this is now quid pro quo. Nonsense! I know the whole story. We have been fighting them for years. That is what the whole thing with guerrilla warfare is about. You get the support of the local population. If you cannot get it by persuading them, then you rough them up until they give you the support that you want. The ANC and everyone works that way. That is the typical communist way of doing things. And we were not there to protect people who were roughed up. Then the 101st Battalion was supposedly the so-called ace up the sleeve of the com-ops men. They said, "No, just wait a little bit, this 101st Battalion will also be disbanded and then they will go influence the people a little, and so on, you see."

[Louw] And that backfired.

[Breytenbach] That 101st Battalion did not even want to move in among the local population. They said that they would be attacked.

Now it is all over. SWAPO is in control. Today it seems to me that the white people are much better off than they were before, and it also seems that the blacks are much weaker than when we were there. Nothing has come of the promised jobs and all the money. Only the farmers now have a market in Europe for their meat, and the businessmen—the white guys—they are scoring.

[Louw] If that was the ultimate result of the war, then the question is: Was it not all half unnecessary?

[Breytenbach] It was unnecessary because we did not achieve anything. We achieved absolutely nothing.

[Louw] Was there an alternative to the war?

[Breytenbach] I will tell you what the alternative was. Right, this is with hindsight, because I am still just a soldier, not a guy who knows about things like politics. In 1966, I participated in the first operation against SWAPO in Ovamboland. At that stage, SWAPO had decided to achieve with violence what it could not get otherwise. For a political man who knows his job, this should have been the writing on the wall, and he should have said, "Look, these people are supported by the Russians, and the struggle will continue for years, because that is how it goes with guerrilla wars. While we

still can, let us say to SWAPO, Right, we have a political solution, you SWAPO forces come back and we hold a big election."

What would have happened? SWAPO would have lost out. They had no support at that stage. And they did not have the opportunity to mobilize. Eventually they mobilized with violence, like all guerrilla movements.

If the guys could only have looked ahead, we should have said, "All right, we vote, end of story. Set up a new government. You are now independent. Bob's your uncle [Everything's fine]." Then we would have had no problems whatsoever in South-West Africa today.

[Louw] But you say that that is with hindsight?

[Breytenbach] With a lot of hindsight. (Laughs.) Incredibly long hindsight. I am no politician, and in those days I was a young lad.

[Louw] But at the same time it probably could not have been sold to the whites.

[Breytenbach] No, certainly not. I assume.

[Louw] How serious was ivory smuggling (by the defense force) in Namibia?

[Breytenbach] Let me tell you this: Combat soldiers were never involved in ivory smuggling. It was the bloody military intelligence people. The problem is that concrete intelligence is not pursued by the police as it should be in order for it to end up in court. They refuse to prosecute one guy because if they prosecute him then he will drop a guy above him, and a guy above him, and a guy above him.... The result is that the whole thing is covered up.

This secrecy is simply stupid. It is where corruption begins. I was there in damn Angola, near Luanda, hunting around with my men, and then they said that I was waging war against SWAPO here 20 km on the other side of the cap line. But the entire world press knew what was going on.

It is stupid, man, this so-called secrecy. Everything must be a secret. Secrecy to protect themselves, that is all. Because now you cannot find out about such operations as the smuggling of elephant tusks, because it takes place under the cover of saying that it is involved with supporting UNITA. That is where corruption comes into it.

[Louw] I see now the criticism that you wrote (in letters to newspapers) about the former minister of defense....

[Breytenbach] The canary.

[Louw] Yes, Roelf Meyer. Despite your criticism, we are now going through the same process as the guys in South-West Africa did. What is the feeling among the soldiers about that?

[Breytenbach] Well, let me tell you, morale in the defense force is very low right now. Because first of all, there is

no longer the clear command-and-control system that there should be in any army. The defense force is now turning responsibility for its actions inside the country, in the townships, to people like the peace committees, which include the ANC and people of that sort. All sorts of foreigners—including the United Nations, apparently—are getting involved now. It is completely opposed to the philosophy of an army. You have a command-control system. You have a general, and you have brigadiers below him, and under him come colonels, and you answer to the entire path above you and give orders and commands to the entire path below you. As the commander of a unit, I would not want you, as an outsider, to come interfere with one of the companies. And if you say, "Do this," then I will say to hell with you, I will say damn you, because who the hell gives you the right to tell me—the commander—what I should do?

Now the so-called peace committees are coming and all sorts of strange monitors and stuff. They say what must be done, instead of being subordinated to the commander. That is not how things work in the defense force. In that case, you are better off withdrawing the whole defense force and deploying the bloody police, because that is how they work—their philosophy is different from ours.

For a trained soldier, it is hard to accept that when someone shoots at him he cannot shoot back. It does not work that way when you are caught—and rightly so—that if you get involved in a combat situation the guy who fires first has the best chance of getting through it. If someone aims a weapon at you, you have to floor him. You cannot start up an argument with him.

But what concerns me the most is that the top units are being disbanded, without any damn reason whatsoever. Simply because the ANC insists upon it. These are people who have fought. Hundreds of them have died for this country in the battle against communism. A promise was made to them by the head of state, by men such as John Vorster and P.W. Botha, and by ministers—P.W. Botha when he was minister of defense and Magnus Malan—that they would be accepted within the South African defense force as a unit, not as individuals. Because as a unit they developed their esprit de corps, with a terrible amount of pride in themselves. Now this is simply being abandoned.

And why is their resignation being demanded? The 32d Battalion, and the poor 31st Battalion, the Boesman Battalion, which never even came near a township. I think they stole a couple of the farmers' watermelons in the vicinity of Kimberley. They have to go too. The next guys, who were already in the spotlight and will certainly be in the spotlight some more, especially after the Webster inquiry, are the Special Forces. I also founded them, coincidentally.

What is behind this? Is this not to make room for a new integrated defense force including Umkhonto we Sizwe?

It is quite clear that Umkhonto we Sizwe and the 32d Battalion and the paratroopers and the Special Forces will not be sitting by the same fire. Make no mistake about it.

[Low] Will it not be the same as with 101st Battalion in South-West Africa? When the situation changes, then the units simply disintegrate on their own?

[Breytenbach] I do not know. That could happen. But what I am trying to say is that the defense force, in my opinion, is being intentionally chipped away at and demoralized. Perhaps there is a perception that the defense force could be involved in a coup, which will not happen. We all grew up in the defense force, and it is a tradition and philosophy of the defense force that you do not fight against your own government, no matter who the hell the government is.

Look, the canary sang in the air force choir. He knows nothing about making war. F.W. de Klerk has no clue about what is going on in the defense force. Perhaps they have the perception that the same thing is true here in South Africa as in the rest of Africa. They are wrong. That is not so. They have a very loyal defense force and they must keep that defense force loyal. And you do not keep the defense force loyal by disbanding units and smacking them around.

What they are doing now, those guys are fired, they get a golden handshake. But you have to remember that outside the defense force today most white men walking around were trained militarily. Now, a bunch of dissatisfied officers is being turned loose among this bunch. These people are professional soldiers. They can fight, they have a lot of war experience. The government is simply creating for itself a greater danger outside the defense force than what it has inside the defense force. For the first time, someone like me, while I am outside the defense force, can raise his voice and ask, "How come the communist against whom we fought is now sitting and negotiating at CODESA [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]?" The same guy against whom we were ordered to fight is slipped in here behind our backs. While we were keeping the wolf away from the door, the damn thing came in by the back door.

Just look at the chaos in the country. There is violence, to a large extent as a result of SACP [South African Communist Party] action within the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe's action. Instead of peace for the country, we have now created a situation of violence—precisely what we were trying to avoid. And here sit the communists, that is what they want. It is their old tactics. They raze and chip away and destroy, and then they build a new socialist system on the ash heap of capitalism.

[Low] It seems certain to me at this stage that the ANC will be part of the next government. The defense force will have to accept this. This means that changes in the command structures will have to come and...

[Breytenbach] You see, the problem is that the guys in the defense force will accept this, but what about the ones outside the defense force? They have guys who are able, much more able than the defense force that will exist then. That defense force will consist of a hodgepodge of guys left behind in the South African Defense Force [SADF] and Umkhonto we Sizwe, and so on. They will come up against a bunch of guys who know a little better how to wage war.

F.W. de Klerk (emphatically), instead of putting his foot down firmly, is in the process, like Chamberlain, of steering the country into a hell of a big war. If he puts his foot down against the ANC and the SACP, then there is a chance that things will go reasonably smoothly. But he is not doing that.

[Low] Is it not in fact the point that if he puts his foot down now, that will cause chaos, and then you will actually have a repeat of 1976 and internal unrest?

[Breytenbach] Perhaps for a short period of time, but when I talk about putting one's foot down I mean really putting it down. He must not stand there and bloody well belabor the point and placate them. Take a guy like Ronnie Kasrils, who is now running around here instigating things. Why do they not grab the scoundrel and lock him up? Why are they letting this bunch of political criminals, whom they now call political prisoners, back into the community? Why have they not said long ago that Umkhonto we Sizwe is from now on unbloody-acceptable, illegal, they must disarm or be disarmed, we are going to catch them, track them down, and lock them up because they will not listen? Why do they not do that?

Look, at the same time he must also lock up the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and the Iron Guard. Then he must put his foot down and say, "This thing with private armies had damn well better stop now. Monday morning at 0800 I am sending the troops and the police to arrest every damn MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe], Iron Guard scoundrel, left, right, and bloody center."

[Low] One could reason that the government must engage the ANC in negotiations, and if it takes that action it will lose the ANC....

[Breytenbach] So bloody what? They are communists anyway.

[Low] In the world context, the ANC is accepted as part of the solution.

[Breytenbach] So bloody what. If they accept that, we do not accept it. After all, they have shown clearly that they want to make themselves unacceptable to us as a South African people. I am talking now about the South African people, not the Boer people as when Terre-Blanche says, "my people and my country."

Let us be honest here. If we think back to the days of apartheid—to which I have no desire to return—you

have to remember that at that time the whole world was against us. But at that time most people had jobs, there was less violence, there was more food in the country, and there was even economic growth. Now that all those things are gone, now economic growth is downward, there is violence, there are no jobs, there is no food, and we are in the process of going to goddamn pieces. So if the world says that we are going to impose sanctions against you now, you have to talk to the ANC, we say, "So bloody what? Things were better before with your sanctions that now without them."

[Louw] But then we face a long war.

[Breytenbach] Certainly. But I mean...

[Louw] Then the soldier will have a job.

[Breytenbach] Then I will have a job again (laughs).

(Coffee is served.)

Oh well, we are unhappy about the course of events.

[Louw] Is that a general feeling in the defense force?

[Breytenbach] Yes. I am talking now about the guys who are active members, I am talking about my buddies, the combat soldiers. I am not sure about those guys in the blue berets who are in the defense force simply because it is a job. Look, if you are a combat soldier, it is certainly the only profession in the world where you join to do a job but where you also undertake to put your life on the line. So it takes a little more than the ordinary type of person to do that sort of...

[Louw] Why does someone do that?

[Breytenbach] Out of stupidity, you know (laughs).

[Louw] No, I mean it.

[Breytenbach] (Seriously) You believe in a cause.

[Louw] But if the cause crumbles beneath you, as has been the case over the past 20 years?

[Breytenbach] That is what is happening now, you see. Then you are unhappy about it. I mean, I put my life on the line. I was in many battles. I was wounded four times in battle. Some of my troops fell alongside me, some of my people's legs were shot off, and their arms, they are blind, and whatever else. You see these things, and now you become unhappy because, after all, I think we did our part. And... (sighs) Now you see these communists sitting there, nice and comfortable at CODESA—old Joe Slovo and company, the men against whom we were fighting. They won. They basically won.

[Louw] Can it be said for the same reason that we lost Cuito Cuanavale?

[Breytenbach] Yes, we lost South-West Africa, and we lost Cuito Cuanavale. Except Cuito Cuanavale was a stalemate, as I said. But we did lose Cuito Cuanavale. They won there. They won in South-West Africa and they won in South

Africa. And now the government is in the process of giving them even more, stacking them up even higher, piling it on with cream on the top and a cherry on top of that. Our men who fought are sitting there in dismay watching what is going on. We cannot do anything about it. After all, we cannot rise up against our government and fight it. We feel powerless. We feel disenchanted and bloody powerless about the whole story.

[Louw] And also used by the politicians?

[Breytenbach] Used in an extremely bloody cynical way by the politicians, who made my life cheap so that they could achieve their damn political goals. And made my people's lives cheap. While I told my people every day, "We are fighting for a cause," those damned people (politicians) were fighting for their own bloody selves.

[Louw] Do you feel that the guys who were killed were in a certain sense killed in vain?

[Breytenbach] Yes, they were.... Or I would not say that they died in vain. After all, at least they died an honorable death. They have nothing to be ashamed of. But they were... yes, if you want to put it that way, they were killed in vain.

4 February Review of Current Issues, Events MB0402140193

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Defections Show Increased Normality in Politics—
"Despite the fact that it looks so abnormal, the defection of white Nationalist and Democratic Party MPs to the Inkatha Freedom Party is an indication of increasing normality in our politics," notes a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 4 February. "The old moulds are well and truly broken: politicians are now making decisions like normal citizens do. Gone are the straitjackets of party-loyalty-in-perpetuity, replaced by more practical considerations such as: Which party best suits our purposes now?"

BUSINESS DAY

Government's Rights Charter Proposals—The National Party's proposed charter of fundamental rights "reflects not only the transformation in the party but its perceptions of the future interests of its supporters," maintains a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 4 February. "Where it once enforced discrimination by law and denied many basic human rights, supposedly in the interests of the state, it now supports such laudable principles as the protection of human dignity, equality before the law, freedom of speech and assembly and even the right of citizens to a passport. There are aspects of the proposed charter which show government's inclination to look after groups, as in the clauses on education, but it has been careful not to refer

to 'group rights', and to use terms which are not likely to conflict with the rights of the individual." There is scope in the proposals for "improvement, clarification, additions and even omissions. It is up to all parties to make their own contributions to the Bill of Rights that will be finally enshrined in a constitution. But they should consider government's proposals carefully; after 40 years of enthusiastic poaching, the would-be gamekeeper knows what to look for."

PATRIOT

CP Urges Mobilization of Conservative Whites—"The mobilization of all conservative white South Africans in 1993 is of vital importance," notes a page 10 editorial in Pretoria **PATRIOT** in Afrikaans on 29 January. "Politics has been dominated by news of plans for an election and there has already been talk of plans to eventually get rid of the remaining Christian bastion on the African continent....The CP's [Conservative Party] mobilization campaign, already well underway, is aimed at encouraging continuing national action in all spheres of community life. This includes the large-scale recruitment and registration of voters. If concerned conservative organizations set aside their own political aspirations and

throw their weight behind a well-planned CP mobilization campaign, then this will result in a united, conservative white front. Then the conservative whites will be able to demand a white general election and thereby prevent an interim black majority communist government from being forced down their throats."

BEELD

Reaction To De Klerk Parliamentary Address—There has been "strange reaction" from the Conservative Party to President F.W. de Klerk's address at the opening of Parliament, notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg **BEELD** in Afrikaans on 1 February. The CP has "threatened the government with 'punishment campaigns' because it wants to introduce a single education system." However, **BEELD** believes "any party criticizing President de Klerk's initiatives should offer a realistic, practical alternative....The ANC [African National Congress] said that President de Klerk could have thrown more light on economic reforms and on respect for human rights....It is the ANC's destruction of the economy that has caused so much suffering and uncertainty....The most constructive suggestion came from Mr. Nelson Mandela, who said that the ANC is forced to form a government of national unity with the NP [National Party] to solve the country's problems."

Angola

Moco Urges International Action Against UNITA

MB0302135193 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Angolan Prime Minister Marcolino Moco has demanded that the international community show greater commitment and responsibility in view of the serious situation in Angola. Speaking yesterday at an informal meeting with survivors of the 4 February 1961 events, the head of government said that strong and concrete actions should be taken to penalize the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

[Begin Moco recording] The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] is an outlaw organization. We do not want to talk about UNITA because we can see that many UNITA members are against the war. They are against Mr. Jonas Savimbi, who after all is the only one at fault. He is advised and encouraged by a small group of two or three of his relatives. In fact, UNITA's army and Mr. Jonas Savimbi are outlaws. Many people, though, did not believe that that army existed in the first place.

We ought to find the appropriate mechanisms to deal with this state of affairs. Either they adhere to the law, or Angolans will have to once again shoulder their responsibilities. That would be an unfortunate situation.

Over the past few days, the government has been doing its best to see to it that the international community does shoulder its share of the burden. The international community has followed the entire process of pacification and democratization in Angola. The government and the vast majority of parties that emerged during the course of that process have fulfilled their duties. Elections were held and were recognized by every party and the international community. So, we demand that the international community shoulder its responsibilities. The international community cannot wash its hands of the matter like Pontius Pilate. [end recording]

The prime minister noted that one should fight against Jonas Savimbi's idea of dividing the country. Marcolino Moco condemned all those who play the enemy's game and persecute peaceful Angolans.

[Begin Moco recording] The defense of the fatherland and democracy is a sacred thing. In addition to the major problems that have mobilized all the resources of the president of the Republic and government, there are other serious problems. For instance, here in Luanda there have been reprehensible attitudes which we ought to fight. Some have sought to blame the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] and the government for the persecution of people from a specific region. We regard that as a totally erroneous view of the situation.

A while ago, we reviewed the recent events in Angola and realized that since independence we had never seen people from the north, south, east, or from the coastal area being persecuted before. Why are they being persecuted? Someone is in fact guilty. We believe that the language of division that began to unfold during the course of the recent dramatic events only began to be used in some speeches made after the signing of the peace accord. We think that those speeches, particularly the ones made by Mr. Jonas Savimbi, have led to that state of affairs. [end recording]

Fatima Roque To Be Freed; De Moura Stresses Peace

LD0302180093 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 1700 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has sent a message to Prime Minister Cavaco Silva assuring him that Fatima Roque, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] secretary for economic affairs, will be released within the next few days. This news was announced to the media by a source at the prime minister's office shortly after the meeting between Cavaco Silva and Angolan Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura. Ana Lisboa has the details:

Fatima Roque, who has been in Luanda government custody for several months, will finally be released within the next few days. The UNITA shadow minister for economic affairs has been held under detention in a Luanda hotel since the clashes of 31 October and 1 November last year between government and UNITA forces.

The announcement was made after today's meeting between Cavaco Silva and Venancio de Moura, during which they discussed the Angolan peace process, which de Moura views as the top priority issue:

[Begin de Moura recording] The priority issue is peace in Angola, the return to the framework established by the Bicesse Accord, as the only possible starting point to resolve all other issues. [end recording]

Concerning the closure of the UNITA offices in Lisbon, Venancio de Moura said that the Luanda government's proposal still stands, but the matter was not discussed at today's meeting.

As for UNITA's proposal that Angola be turned into a federal republic, the Angolan foreign minister described it as inadmissible and explained why:

[Begin de Moura recording] That has never been in our intentions, nor is it admissible. It would run completely counter to the international judicial order. [end recording]

The next step, Venancio de Moura said, will be the negotiations between the Luanda government and

UNITA in Addis Ababa on 10 February. He said he hopes that an agreement on a cessation of hostilities may be reached then.

Says No Military Solution Sought

MB0402082493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] Jorge Valentim, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola information secretary, advanced on 1 February a proposal concerning the creation of a federation of states for Angola. Addressing newsmen after a 45-minute meeting with Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva in Lisbon yesterday, Angolan Foreign Affairs Minister Venancio de Moura flatly rejected that proposal.

Minister de Moura said the government was never interested in such a solution. He added the creation of a federal state in Angola would contravene the international legal order on the matter. Valentim had advanced that proposal following the Angolan Government's publication of documents showing Jonas Savimbi wanted to create the so-called Republic of South Angola.

Venancio de Moura rejected the possibility that the governmental forces might suffer a military defeat. He said the current situation on the ground can be explained by the fact that the government is still committed to dialogue and does not favor a military solution.

Minister de Moura also said he hoped agreements on a cease-fire and the restoration of state authority throughout Angolan territory would be reached at the upcoming meeting in Addis Ababa on 10 February.

UNITA Generals To Return to FAA

MB0302203793 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Six National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] officers, who are under government custody in Luanda, have decided to rejoin the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA]. At a news conference in Luanda today, the six generals said that there were no longer reasons to remain outside the FAA. Yet, none of them answered the key question: Would they be willing to fight against Jonas Savimbi's troops.

Speaking on behalf of the group, General Wambu began by reading a declaration stating their intention of returning to the FAA within the spirit and letter of the Bicesse Accord.

[Begin Wambu recording] With the establishment of the sovereign organs of the Republic of Angola, in terms of the 29-30 September 1992 general elections, and in view of UNITA's recognition of the electoral results and its agreement to join the country's sovereign organs, the following generals wish to declare that:

1. They believe that the causes that led the former Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] generals to abandon the FAA have been overcome. They agree, therefore, to return and shoulder their responsibilities within the FAA, thereby reiterating the solemn pledge that they made at their swearing-in ceremony.

2. They undertake to make every effort in a patriotic and nonpartisan spirit to develop and unite the FAA, as well as to fulfill their constitutional mission for the sake of gaining and consolidating peace, and to uphold the democratic institutions and the integrity of the Angolan fatherland.

[Issued] Luanda, 3 February 1993

[Signed] Generals Peregrino Isidro Wambu Chindondo, Zacarias Mundombe, Adriano Macavela Mackenzie, Renato Campos Mateus, Lieutenant Generals Andrade Gerales Joaquin Santos and Artur Bemba. [end recording]

Generals Explain Position

MB0402071493 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 2004 GMT 3 Feb 93

["News conference" granted by Generals Peregrino Wambu Chindondo, Zacarias Mundombe, Adriano Mackenzie, Renato Campos Mateus, Andrade Santos, and Artur Bemba with unidentified reporters on the "Special Report" program, in Luanda on 3 February—recorded]

[Text] [Wambu] We have based our communique on the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] Standing Committee Political Commission communiques that were issued on 8 and 9 December 1992, in terms of which the former Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] generals were fully authorized to return to the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA]. Our (?two) colleagues who went to Addis Ababa carried the same message, that we would be (?present here), a measure we have deemed useful so we can contribute to the spirit of the Bicesse Accord in a responsible manner.

[Reporter] Mr. General: Could you please tell us what guarantees you will give this time that you are indeed returning to FAA? I ask this in view of the fact that UNITA generals had been sworn in as FAA personnel. Is your statement the sole guarantee or can you add anything else to it?

[Wambu] There is our word of honor, in addition to our statement. Obviously, circumstances do change and the manner of our return to FAA naturally does not allow us to assess that situation as it occurred. [sentence as heard] In addition to our word of honor, there is also our undertaking that we will be rejoining FAA for good.

[Reporter] Angola is currently experiencing a situation of war. This has not been declared officially, but there is a war on in Angola. Fighting is pitting UNITA forces on one side, and the Police and the FAA forces on the other.

Seeing that you are rejoining the FAA forces, what will be your position in this conflict?

[Wambu] Our position will be, first, to help hostilities cease, and we believe Addis Ababa provides a good example. Second, we are part of the Bicease Accord, and we believe it is an important [word indistinct] because there are hundreds of UNITA soldiers who are still in FAA. Only some generals who were already here were absent from that list. In view of the fact that we have the opportunity to do so, we are doing it. Only five generals are missing from among those who signed the October Declaration: Generals Ben-Ben, [name indistinct], Demosteneas, Jeronimo Ukuma, and Numa. Thus, six of the generals who signed that declaration are here. We thought that, if we were given the opportunity, we should do it. We were given that opportunity and we see it as an important signal, even to the others.

[Reporter] Mr. General: I would like to go back to my previous question. In view of the situation in the country, does your return to FAA mean that you will fight side-by-side with the FAA forces against the UNITA forces?

[Wambu] I believe that it is not in the government's interest to continue the ongoing clashes.

[Reporter] Excuse me. My question was: The government has said the FAA forces have been defending themselves from UNITA attacks. Would you and the other generals fight your former FALA colleagues, even if for purely defensive reasons?

[Wambu] I would like to stress yet again that no one is interested in war. Thus, it is in everybody's interest to halt this war, so we can strengthen the real FAA forces which, as you know, must be made up of 50 percent from one side, and 50 percent from other side. It is in that spirit that we think we must contribute toward. By asking everyone to cease hostilities, we are hoping that our contribution to FAA's future will be a concrete one.

[Reporter] Mr. General: Please forgive me for insisting. In the current political and military situation—especially in the current military situation—what will be your standing and your actual duties within the FAA forces in view of the fact that they are fully involved in responding to or attacking the UNITA forces? What will be your actual position?

[Wambu] Our position will be one of encouraging everyone to cease hostilities, so we can effectively implement the spirit and the letter of the Bicease Accord. Thus, I am sure no one, even inside this room, is interested in seeing the struggle continue, especially because the second round of talks will begin on 10 February, if everything goes according to plan. Thus, it is in that spirit. [sentence as heard] This may happen a few days before, or a few days later, but FAA must naturally assume their role, as FAA embraces both sides.

[Reporter] Mr. General: The UNITA leadership, through its information minister, has said all UNITA men in Luanda are prisoners. He called on UNITA prisoners not to [words indistinct] Would you like to comment on Mr. Jorge Valentim's statement?

[Wambu] Well, that was statement by the UNITA information minister. It is not up to me to comment on it. What I have learned is that this issue was discussed in Addis Ababa, that the government stated its position, and that UNITA stressed that demand. Thus, we are in a situation where we have once again the opportunity to send a positive signal. That positive signal is that if we are in custody, or if we belong in some other context, we will [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Mr. General: [Words indistinct] how to settle this matter of exchanging prisoners? How do you, Mr. General, see the implementation of this point [words indistinct] Addis Ababa on exchanging prisoners. Who does it involve?

[Wambu] I think it involves all those who feel and who are in this context. As is well known, each side reads the situation in its own manner. Thus, we can only say that we are covered by the statement we have just made.

[Reporter] That means that you [words indistinct]?

[Wambu] Naturally, we are underscoring that signal with this statement and we are taking advantage of the opportunity that has been extended to us to become part of the FAA forces in a spirit of seeking the implementation of the peace accords.

[Reporter] Mr. General, [words indistinct]?

[Wambu] Well, naturally, we will be looking at each development stage from now on. There have been talks, and they are bound to continue. You may be referring to the specific case of the generals, but of course we will also be looking at the case of other officers. As you know, in addition to us there were officers in the chief of General Staff's Office. Those officers all fell under our clause, but have already resumed their duties. So, it was nothing like that. There was no need for them to issue a statement, because they were affected by a signed statement. We had formally signed a statement, so we would have to sign another to (?rejoin) FAA.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] FAA?

[Wambu] UNITA appointed us to FAA. We only left it for reasons that are now very well known. We are back to discharge our duties.

[Reporter] Mr. General: That means, then, that you, gentlemen, are answerable only to the FAA command as of now. Does it mean you no longer have to follow UNITA leadership instructions?

[Wambu] That is absolutely so.

[Reporter] So there is no rupture?

[Wambu] No, there is no rupture. All the more so because FAA are the only forces within the context of the peace accords. So, there is a clear understanding here: We are going into a branch of the FAA forces that fits within the framework of the peace accords.

[Reporter] In view of the fact that you will have to abide by FAA's orders, what will happen if FAA orders you to go and fight UNITA?

[Wambu] As I said earlier, I do not believe there is anyone at this stage interested in continuing this war.

[Reporter] Mr. General: [words indistinct]?

[Wambu] I think our message was broadcast at length by our colleagues Generals Mackenzie and Zacarias. We were at Estoril as part of the team that signed the Bicesse Accord. Now, we see it as our duty to safeguard the accords. We also believe that the signals from Addis Ababa were promising ones.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] UNITA's position in Addis Ababa?

[Mackenzie] Despite disinformation, if we may call it that, the reaction was a positive one inasmuch as we were to convey to our colleagues that most important message that war must cease. In that context, the UNITA team must become committed to finding concrete solutions as soon as possible, together with the government, so all that can become reality.

[Reporter] That means, then, that the members of the UNITA team that went to Addis Ababa fully agree with the position you have now taken?

[Mackenzie] As Gen. Wambu has just said, this is a step, a significant message, so we can encourage efforts toward a peaceful resolution to the Angolan problem. What we are doing here now is in no way out of line with the thing we are all searching for at this stage: Peace for Angola.

[Reporter] No, it is not out of line, but is it not paradoxical that the UNITA leadership should agree with your move on one hand, and remain committed to military operations on the other? I would like a clarification.

[Mackenzie] Paradoxical though it may seem, I think the most important thing at this stage is that we take concrete steps toward peace. I think such a step was taken when we began contacts in Addis Ababa. Let us all ensure that the next meeting will be a reality, so Angolans can sign a cease-fire agreement and find peace.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] in government custody at this stage. What is the actual status of the other UNITA officials? Are they free? Are they not free? What is their status at this stage?

[Wambu] Well, there is a broader framework of measures under way. I think our problem was a more practical one, because we were already part of FAA. We only left FAA because of circumstances. The status of

our colleagues in the political and administrative sectors is also being looked at and we think steps will be taken soon to deal with their situation.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] the government?

[Wambu] I think the government clarified that matter in Addis Ababa. It is not up to us to return to that issue. Ladies and gentlemen: Thank you very much and very good afternoon to you.

South African Mercenaries Reportedly Captured *MB0302194293 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Text] There were no significant changes in the military situation in Angola today. National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces continue with their intense shelling of the outlying areas of Menongue, Luena, and Cuito airports in order to prevent the landing of aircraft.

Meanwhile, clashes continue in Huambo. Today, UNITA forces continued to intensively and indiscriminately shell the city of Huambo, using artillery of various calibers. Some 30 people, including 11 children were killed, and a building was damaged. During clashes in the city of Huambo yesterday, government forces captured two white South African mercenaries. They have been identified as 33-year-old Gerald Isaac and 27-year-old Jan Hendrick Christopher.

Joint Commission With Zaire To Investigate UNITA Presence

MB2901140993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] The authorities in Cabinda Province and the Lower Zaire Region have decided to create a commission to investigate the alleged presence of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola troops and mercenaries in that part of the neighboring country. The delegations to the meeting were headed by Cabinda Province Governor Augusto da Silva Tomas and Lower Zaire Governor (Mboia M'baki). At the meeting, which was held in the Iema border region, some 25 km from the city of Cabinda, the two sides exchanged views on the current political and military situation in the respective countries and reviewed the question of Angolan refugees wishing to return home from Zaire. In a joint communique, the two delegations stated their desire to uphold security along the border region.

Malawi

Party Official Denies Charges of Political Persecution

MB0302152293 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] A spokesman of the Malawi Congress Party has denied allegations by church leaders from east and

southern Africa who met in Zimbabwe recently, accusing the Malawi Government of committing political persecution. The spokesman said the impression that the Malawi Government was committing political persecutions was wrong and a deliberate distortion of facts. He said it was in fact the supporters of the pressure groups that were harassing and committing acts of violence against the general public and members of the Malawi Congress Party, MCP. In his report the spokesman said the supporters of pressure groups have prevented Malawi Congress Party meetings, blocked traffic, and stoned or harassed innocent people after their public meetings. But the spokesman said despite such unwarranted provocation, the MCP has not retaliated but remained calm and (?peaceful).

On alleged arrests in the north and elsewhere in the country, the spokesman said the government wants to remind the church leaders that there were no political prisoners in this country. He said Reverent Peter Kaleso was arrested for personal abuses and insults against the head of state and is appearing in an open court of law soon. The spokesman said the call to free political prisoners was meaningless since there were no political prisoners in the country. In the report of January the 30th, the church leaders had called on the government to stop the alleged political persecution and appealed for restraint from Malawian authorities in handling the current political situation saying it could push the country towards violence.

Mozambique

UNICEF Denies Government Manipulation Claims

MB0402115593 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] The Maputo office of the United Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF, today denied claims by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] Leader Afonso Dhlakama that it is being manipulated by the Mozambican Government.

Mr. Dhlakama, who is currently in Geneva, had attacked humanitarian organizations working in Mozambique for their relations with the government. He said the government was manipulating them for political advantage, and named in particular UNICEF and the U.S.-based charity, World Vision. Mr. Dhlakama warned that the Mozambican peace agreement could be in danger if food aid did not arrive in zones controlled by Renamo. However, Licinio Adorno, interim head of UNICEF operations in Mozambique, said the attack on UNICEF was quite surprising, particularly since UNICEF was not (?yet) heavily involved in food aid. He pointed out that UNICEF was now working with the International Committee of the Red Cross (?to deliver) [words indistinct] Renamo-held areas.

He denied that there was anything manipulative in relations between the government and UNICEF, saying everything was legitimate and above board.

South African Appointed to Demobilization Commission

MB0102092593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] The NOTICIAS newspaper reports today that South Africa has appointed a representative to the commission for reintegrating Mozambican soldiers and Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] guerrilla forces who are to be demobilized in terms of the General Peace Accord.

Kruger [not further identified] will be working in the commission on a full-time basis, in conjunction with the UN team supervising the Rome Accord.

A South African source has disclosed that economic development and regional economic integration are the main aims of Mozambican-South African cooperation.

War Veterans Capture Food Aid Vehicles in Zambesia

MB0302070893 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] National liberation struggle veterans captured trucks carrying some 90 metric tons of corn in Zambesia Province's Nicoadala District early yesterday morning. The trucks were ferrying that corn to war-displaced people in Morrumbala District.

Those war veterans have claimed that the government does not provide them with any food aid.

Radio Mozambique's Zambesia Province correspondent reports that at least 37 privately owned heavy and light vehicles were captured by the war veterans in (Micuar) village. The corn, which belonged to the Save the Children nongovernmental organization, was offloaded and distributed among the residents. Save the Children has disclosed it has already reported the matter to the Zambesia Provincial Government and may do so to the United Nations as well as other Mozambican institutions.

Port, Railroad Authorities To Dismiss 14,000

MB2201172393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] More than \$80 million will be used to finance a project to reorganize the Ports and Railroad National Enterprise. [Name indistinct], director general of the enterprise, said in Maputo that the project's objective is to strengthen the operational capacity of the enterprise. Included in the terms of the project is the dismissal of more than 14,000 ports and railroad workers.

Renamo Alleges 20,000 Members in Manica Province

MB2901074693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] says it has some 20,000 registered members in Manica Province. The figure was disclosed in Chimioio today when Renamo officially introduced its provincial political representative to the Manica Province government.

*** Visit to Renamo-Controlled Southern Zambezia**

93AF0328A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 3 Jan 93 pp 18-26

[Article by Anselmo Titos: "Peace With Hunger"; first paragraph is TEMPO introduction]

[Text] Since the signing of the General Peace Accord, 13 to 15 people are dying every day in Mopeia, in southern Zambezia Province, a zone controlled by the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. The drought which is devastating the entire region of southern Africa is at the heart of the drama. In the end, it was not the war alone that created tragedies.

Through contacts with some nongovernmental organizations [NGO's] which operate in Zambezia Province and with Goncalves da Silva, we were able to visit the zones which have been controlled by Afonso Dhlakama's movement for more than 16 years.

At about 0700 on 9 December, we left Quelimane for the locale of Mecombezi, Mopeia District. We traveled in a convoy that included the Save the Children, Doctors Without Borders [MSF], and the United Nations Emergency Commission; there were about five trucks under the UN banner, loaded with 60 tons of emergency supplies.

We arrived in Mecombezi at 0900, having traveled about 100 kilometers. The Central-North Highway is good, although the vestiges of the recently ended war may still be seen; in some places where there had been military engagements, the trucks reduced speed to go around the craters in the road.

According to Goncalves da Silva, the Renamo zone begins 10 kilometers from Licuare, a locale in Nicondala District, about 30 kilometers from Quelimane. As we went farther into the interior, the famine and poverty of the population was apparent. The people were running to the side of the road because they had already been alerted to the distribution of emergency supplies.

This was the fourth mission since the signing of the peace accord, Goncalves da Silva said. All the people were dressed in sackcloth and their ribs showed through their skin.

According to the Renamo official in Quelimane, the people were settled at the edge of the road to facilitate the distribution of products donated by the international community.

To Receive Food

Mecombezi, Longozi, Lima, Virathonge, and other villages are located on the edge of the Central-North National Highway, about 40 kilometers from the town of Mopeia. According to Cesar Veloso Culuse, the (Renamo) administrator of Mopeia, the area under his control currently shelters 48,790 inhabitants, 24,000 of whom have already settled at the edge of the highway.

According to Goncalves da Silva, the people had been settled in these locales at the request of the NGO's, to facilitate the distribution of foodstuffs. On the other hand, the Renamo representative in Quelimane felt that some NGO's had urged the people to leave their native areas simply to evaluate their condition. "Because I do not understand why the NGO's ask us to advise our people to agree to settle along the highway and then do not give them anything," he lamented.

He wondered if the NGO's were not simply interested in making propaganda, since when an evaluation team visits there it never returns to distribute food. He said that the United Nations Commission and the MSF were the only organizations that channeled emergency supplies to the Renamo zones. The others "just pass through our zones to reach the government zones. They see people dying along the road, but they do not leave anything," he reported, questioning the motive for the request to reopen the roads.

The UN Emergency Commission channeled a total of 240 tons of aid to Mopeia in November and December.

The (Renamo) administrator of Mopeia said that most of the deaths occurred in the period before the signing of the peace accord. "This is because the emergency supplies were not reaching here, because of the war, a war where brothers were enemies for more than 15 years," he said.

The emergency aid needs for southern Zambezia (Mopeia, Morrumbala, and Chinde) are greater because of the drought that has afflicted the region for more than three years in a row.

According to Renamo statistics, the mortality rate is declining. They indicate that there were 130 deaths in September (before the Rome accord), 75 in October (the first month of peace), another 38 in November, and only 15 in December.

Half Peace

Wacha Ndingo, who appears to be about 70 years old, is the "regulo" [Portuguese-appointed tribal official] of the locale of Mecombezi. He has lived in the Renamo zone since the war began. He never fled from here. He could

not stand by himself; he had to support himself by leaning against trees. He could barely speak, because he was starving.

The regulo of Mecombezi said the signing of the peace accord was very important for his territory because now it is possible to communicate with people in other zones who had been enemies until a very short time ago, even though they were civilians.

The peace accord also means that the problems of hunger have been alleviated, because emergency supplies were arriving now, which was not happening before. "If it were not for these white people who bring the food here, you would have found us dead," he asserted, although he added that the supplies distributed there were inadequate.

The shortage of emergency supplies forced the people to resort to eating the roots of trees that are known locally as malawa and minhane, along with the roots of banana trees. The mangoes were all eaten when they were still green. At this time, each individual is receiving one kg of corn a week.

Wacha Ndingo said the famine was "spoiling" the peace. "No one is happy when his belly is empty," he pointed out, adding: "Now that the war is ended, the famine is killing us."

According to the administrator of Mopeia, peace with hunger is not peace. He said: "It is an ugly thing that someone who survived the war should die in peace time." Cesar Veloso added that it all depended on the will of "God," since this is a natural disaster.

New Challenges

The Rome accords led to an increase in the number of needy people. According to an agent in the United Nations Commission who asked to remain anonymous, the "whole world" knows this. According to him, when the discussions were held, it was already known that after the war there would be a period of great challenge, particularly with regard to the problem of the emergencies created by the drought.

The situation is most troubling in the southern part of Zambezia Province.

Statistics of the UN Emergency Commission indicate that there are no more than 500 tons of products in the entire province to meet the needs, which are tending to increase.

The situation could be relieved if the rains come, primarily in the southern part of Zambezia. Otherwise, the Provincial Emergency Commission (CPE) will continue, until May 1994, to assist the people who are dependent on international aid.

Asked whether or not the NGO's were interested in channeling aid to the Renamo-controlled zones, the UN agent said the problem is that "a statistical survey was

conducted only in the government-controlled zones and the allocations for this year reflect those figures. When the war ended, new needs arose: the needs of the people who live in zones under the control of Dhlakama's movement."

When the emergency trucks pass through the Renamo-controlled zones, some people think they are only going to the government-controlled zones. Actually, the trucks passing through Renamo-controlled towns are delivering goods to other Renamo-controlled zones, but they are obliged (geographically) to pass through those towns.

Mopeia, Morumbala, and Chinde districts, which have been seared by the drought for more than 36 months, need adequate humanitarian aid. The mangoes have already run out. There are no more malawa, minhane (as published), and banana trees. The people are totally dependent on donations.

Disease

Antonio Francisco appears to be 30 years old. He is the Mopeia health director. He joined the Renamo army in 1977 and fought for the movement. Before that, he was a student in one of the schools in Beira City, which he left, disgusted with the policies of the government. "I did not like the politics of the government, so I left Beira and joined the Renamo to fight the Marxist regime," he said.

The health director said there are 37 functioning health posts at this time. However, these posts are in the interior, so we could not visit them.

The problems in the area of health are enormous, from the service personnel to the medicines and the laboratory equipment.

The medicines have been coming from the Provincial Directorate, which is in Mongola, Milange District. It takes three and a half days on foot to reach there from Mecombezi.

The most frequent illnesses in this zone are diarrhea, anemia, and others brought on by malnutrition. The shortage of medicines has meant the loss of a hundred lives this year, according to Antonio Francisco.

He said that to curb the spread of epidemics, a brigade had been formed to mobilize the people to build and use latrines and to bury their waste.

The shortage of potable water for public consumption makes it difficult to observe certain health rules, since the people are consuming unfit water. It is noted that the locales of Mecombezi, Lima, and Virathonge are named for the rivers that pass through these regions. The people settled in these regions so they could use the water from the rivers, but this was a bad idea, since because of the drought in the region there is not a drop of water in them. According to the health director, thirst has become a killer. The people are traveling more than 30 kilometers in search of the precious fluid.

Because there are no schools beyond the sixth grade, the students cannot continue their education. According to Antonio Francisco, these students are being employed in the health sector so they will not be completely idle. He added that as soon as the conditions are there to continue their studies, they will be relieved [of their duties in the health sector].

Renamo Journalism

When we arrived, we were introduced to the Renamo reporter in Mopeia District. His name is Tavares Augusto Preco. He is a native of Luabo. His job, he said, is to report on events taking place in the "liberated zones," as they are called.

Mongola is the Renamo's central base in Zambezia Province. This is where Tavares sends his newspaper articles. He said there is a shortage of material to practice his profession. "But I know that when the Renamo wins the elections, my work will improve," he said, with conviction.

Gathering information regarding death from disease and famine and other events related to politics are his preferred topics.

Drought Compromises Education in the Renamo

Manuel Corado, the district director of education, served with the Renamo army for 10 years. Then he was appointed director of education in Mopeia District.

According to Corado, 44 of the some 56 existing schools were in operation in the last school year. The reduction in the school system was the result of the unprecedented drought throughout the southern African region.

In the 1990 school year, 6,988 students were enrolled, 3,790 of whom completed the year. Manuel Corado said that the teachers are not paid; their work is a form of aid and they will receive a salary as soon as their president wins the elections. Even if the election is lost, "no one will strike, because they are working voluntarily," he assured.

The school system could be expanded to 180 units to serve the children of school age. But this also depends largely on the end of the drought. If the drought continues, the number of schools might be even further reduced. "Neither the students nor the teachers will go to school as long as they are starving," he explained.

A child between 10 and 12 years old asked us if we had brought any school materials for him. To our regret, we could do nothing to meet his request. He attended pre-primary school last year but, because of hunger, he did not pass. There were many days when he missed school. "Other days, I did not go to school because I had to go looking for tree roots. Sometimes I was absent for a week and when I went back to school I did not understand the material. They flunked me," he said. He added that he was not the only one

who failed because of absences. Many of his companions also stayed out of school to look for tubers. Some of them dropped out for good.

He said that in the next school year he is going to attend the first grade, even though he was not promoted. "My teachers said I could," he said.

In Mecombezi we also met people who had come from the government-controlled zones. One of them was Domingos Dino Jordan, who is about 30 years old. He came from Chimwara, on the border between Zambezia Province and Sofala and Tete Provinces. When we met him he was visiting his mother-in-law. He had not visited her for five years, all because of the war. His wife had cried a lot because, according to him, she did not know if her mother were still alive.

There are no more disputes between people in the Renamo- and government-controlled zones. "We are all brothers. Since the war ended, why should we go on hating each other?" asked Domingos Dino. He said politics should not interfere with family relationships.

The Mopeia administrator said it is the moment for reconciliation and there is no reason whatever to go on having skirmishes between brothers, even if they are ideologically opposed.

*** Refugee Reintegration in Tete Examined**

93AF0328B Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese
3 Jan 93 pp 27-34

[Article by Antonio Elias: "When One Must Start Life Over"; first paragraph is TEMPO introduction]

[Text] Now that the war between the government and the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] has ended, Tete Province will have to have the "guts" to help the returnees who are arriving from neighboring countries where they had taken refuge. They are returning by the thousands, and the capacity is not there to take care of these people.

We landed in Tete City on Wednesday, 9 December. The next day we traveled in one of the international trucks to the north of the province. Our destination was the plain of Angonia, via the "internal route," as it is called in Tete. Thus, instead of arriving at the border post of Zobwe, we would stay in Mutsakama, the crossing point into Angonia, about 20 kilometers from the Zobwe post. It is 105 kilometers from Tete City to this point in Mutsakama. We waited here from the middle of the afternoon until sunset, and not a single car was traveling in the direction of Angonia. This is also a completely uninhabited place. There are only ruins of a house that was said to have been a shop before the war. But this is a large mango-producing area. The few people whom we met here were involved with mangoes, some buying, others selling, in a grove without a single house anywhere near. The ones who were buying large numbers of mangoes were soldiers, now on "new orders" in their barracks, according to Vasco Pires, who was also there in

search of mangoes, to augment his "income of 27,000 meticals a month which I receive in the Army." Vasco Pires said he was 18 years old and he had joined the ranks of the Armed Forces in 1988 when he was 14 years old.

Some of the mango buyers have their homes in Malawi, which is right beside Mutsakama. Rui Paulo, who was also seeking mangoes at the time, is one of those who is still a refugee in Malawi, but he is trying to live on the other side of the border during the day, "to survive. We are not getting along well in Malawi. The food that they bring to the centers is distributed to everyone, Malawians and Mozambicans, so there is barely enough...."

Rui Paulo continues to live in Malawi, as he said, for two reasons: first, "because the Malawians say we cannot return to Mozambique yet," and second, "because I have a small farm plot and I want to wait to harvest it." Meanwhile, many Mozambican refugees in Malawi are returning home without waiting for orders, because they are anxious to take advantage of the rains that are beginning to fall.

The border post of Zobwe began to receive refugees on 16 October, through the Support Center for Refugees. From 16 to 31 October, at the Zobwe post alone, 2,593 people entered Mozambique from Malawi. In the same period, 5,000 people entered the zone of Mutsakama, according to data supplied by Regina Cualberto and Laurinda Flaviano, agents of the Support Center for Refugees in Zobwe. The support that the returnees receive here basically consists of household utensils and some food. For a family of six, for example, Regina Cualberto said, "We provide two pans, four plates, four spoons, three blankets, and corn." According to personnel at the center, the work is "hard, particularly because of the Malawians who take advantage of this mass movement to receive corn and then immediately go back across the border."

A similar situation is occurring on the Angonia plain, where we arrived on Thursday, 11 December. In the district seat of Tsangano, Administrator Nataniel Tembe said: "We can identify the Malawians because these infiltrators usually only want food, when we are trying to make a greater effort to provide utensils and production tools."

"Neither the NGO's [nongovernmental organizations] nor the government have enough material available, because so many people are returning every day. We were caught off guard."

The return in Tsangano also began in the middle of October. Some 498 people arrived in Tsangano during that month; 769 people arrived in November. The movement to return home is growing by the day. In the first 10 days of December, 1,637 returnees arrived. All these people are coming despite the order, which is still in effect, to remain in the centers in Malawi. "They are fleeing," according to Administrator Nataniel Tembe.

The seat of Tsangano District is about 500 meters from the border between Mozambique and Malawi. It was one

of the districts severely affected by the war. According to Manuel M'tarawa Banda, of the Support Center for Refugees, Tsangano was occupied by the Renamo a few days after President Samora Machel visited it in September 1986. It was recaptured by the government in December 1987, also soon after President Joaquim Chissano visited Malawi.

At that time, all the small settlements in the regions close to the border were abandoned and in ruins. "Because of the war, there was virtually no one left in Tsangano, for example," according to Manuel M'tarawa Banda. In this regard, the district administrator said that there are 80,000 people from Tsangano District in the Ncheu and Muanza refugee centers in Malawi. At the time of the 1980 population census, Tsangano had 75,000 inhabitants. From all indications, all the people in the district went to Malawi during the war.

We traveled part of the way from Tsangano to Ulongwe, the district seat of Angonia, along the border between Mozambique and Malawi. To our right, on the Malawian side, there were crowds of people, even along the road that separates the two countries. The driver kept saying the same thing: "All these people are Mozambicans. The cattle are theirs, too." Meanwhile, to our left was abandoned land and occasionally some remains of houses.

It is these people who are crossing the road to return to their lands—in almost every case, to start life over from scratch. In Ulongwe, where, as in Tsangano, a reception center has been opened for the returnees, dozens and even hundreds of people are arriving every day from Malawi. Quenessi Ingene Chalica, a delegate from the Support Center for Refugees in Angonia, explained that in the district seat the census of returnees was initiated on 26 October. Some 9,228 people arrived during November, or slightly more than 300 people a day, close to 50 families a day, just at the Ulongwe center. When we visited the center on the morning of Saturday, 12 December, families were arriving, some of them with only small bundles on their heads, others with nothing, while still others were carrying their belongings on ox carts. This was the case of the family of Salomone Moises; they had joined up with Bissolomo Johanasse to lease an oxcart for 41 kwachas, to transport everything they had left in life.

Salomone Moises came with his wife and children from the Ncheu region of Malawi, where they had been refugees since 1986. Forced to flee Mozambique, he had lost 39 cows, 15 goats, six pigs, chickens, and pigeons, as well his house and farm plot. "What we are asking for now is food, while we try to start life over." They arrived in Ulongwe from Ncheu at about 1000. They had left Ncheu at 0400, on foot. Only the bundle went in the ox cart.

The refugees remain at the reception center for two or three weeks while they rebuild their houses on the ruins

of the old ones. Because so many people are arriving, there are not enough tents and many families are out in the open, which, added to their other problems, such as hunger, makes life difficult. When we arrived at the center, a funeral cortege was leaving; a child had died as a result of diarrhea brought on by malnutrition. The center is practically inside the town, but only refugees attended the child's funeral. It was a great contrast to what happened in the afternoon. Life throughout the town came to a stop for the funeral of the deputy of the Assembly of the Republic. The returnees also attended the funeral of the deputy.

Delegate Quenessi Inene Chaleca explained that at the reception center "which we set up in Domwe, the situation is more complicated" than it is at the Ulongwe center. The administrative post of Domwe began to receive returnees much later than Ulongwe, "for want of resources." In three days of operations at this post, 3,087 people who had just returned from Malawi were registered.

During the trip between Ulongwe and the border post of Calomwe, a distance of about 20 kilometers, there were people on both sides of the road, building houses on the sites of their former homes. Each one returns to his own tree. For example, there is the case of Peniasse Benati and his son Krifodi Peniasse. "At the same time that we are building a house, we are trying to enlarge the area of the farm plot as much as possible." Until the house is completed, they are continuing to live in Malawi. "We are here from the morning to the evening. But we have to go back within a week." Near the border, in a no-man's land, there are dozens of people. We took these people back into our territory in the car in which we were traveling, since we were not able to enter into Malawian territory.

Capridzange is another point at which there is a massive and spontaneous concentration of people returning from the refugee centers in Malawi. However, in Capridzange there is a mixture of people who are returning from Malawi and others who have come from Renamo-controlled regions in search of seed and food. When we visited the locale on 16 December, there were 8,600 people who had come from Malawi. The people concentrated in Capridzange came from centers located in Changambica and Chifunga, in Malawian territory.

Capridzange is singular in that among the returnees there are individuals from Manica Province. This is the case of Naife Gonda, who said he was from Mutambara, in Manica Province. When he fled from there with his family, his wife and seven children, they had walked for six days from Manica to Malawi. He had been at the Capridzange center for two weeks, and he wanted to continue on to his native territory. However, according to Agostinho Andrigo, an official of the Support Center for Refugees in Capridzange, everyone whose native area is some distance from this reception center has received orders to wait until the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] has created conditions enabling members to accompany these groups to their points of origin.

Although they were ordered to remain in the refugee centers in Malawi and also to remain in the transit centers, the number of refugees in neighboring countries who are returning to Tete Province is constantly rising. The first significant migration occurred in August: 30,000 people, according to data supplied by R.G. Raj, adviser to the Provincial Emergency Commission in Tete. Between November and December, more than 70,000 people entered the province by various routes. In the days to come, increasing numbers of refugees will be returning from neighboring countries. Data from the Provincial Emergency Commission in Tete indicate that 600,000 natives of Tete Province are still in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. With regard to the refugees in Zimbabwe, their return is not scheduled to begin until next March. The centers for Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe are in the interior of that country, 70 kilometers from the border with Mozambique, we learned from Manuel M'tarawa Banda. This means that individuals in these centers would have a more difficult time leaving on their own than they would in Malawi. If they cannot leave until March, then hundreds of thousands of people will face another year of dependence on aid for their survival, since by that time it will be impractical to plant crops. And if this happens, it will foster the interests of those who reap large benefits from this suffering....

[Box, p 33]

Witnesses of Caboa II

Among the returnees from Malawi, there is a community which forms a subgroup, distinguished from the other hundreds of thousands of returnees by their manner of living. These are the Jehovah's Witnesses. All of them—and only they—live in the Caboa II District, which is constructed in straight lines and laid out in streets. When they speak of Caboa II, the people of Angonia use the word "lovely." Delegate Quenessi Inene Chaleca suggested that we go to that locale, describing it as "a lovely place, a good place; you ought to go there."

They are Jehovah's Witnesses and they also returned from Malawi, where they encountered refugees who had fled the war in Mozambique. Only, in their case, they returned two years before 4 October. They built Caboa II in 1990. Jhasson Jeremias, chief of the district, explained: "We returned because it is forbidden to practice our religion in Malawi." They returned to Mozambique in wartime, "through the auspices of the Red Cross." Catarina Jose Siteo, also of Caboa II, said that in Malawi there were many problems with the government. "They required us to buy Banda's party cards, which would be against our principles. When we refused, they took us to jail. So we [opted] to return here. And we are doing well here; we have our machambas' [farm plots], which we did not have in Malawi."

However, there are residents of Caboa II, about 100 of them, who do not have "machambas." They are all Malawians who left the country because "we did not have freedom of religion, since we refused to obey the orders of the Malawian party," the National Congress Party of centenarian Dr. Hasting Kamuzu Banda. The Malawian population in Caboa II comes from the Ncheu region. Chicumbiaimbaia Moliase, 29, mother of two, arrived in the first group of her countrymen in 1991. She said: "I am living here for now because the government does not create problems."

Meanwhile, her situation is that of a refugee. Like their coreligionists during their stay in Malawi, the Malawians in the Caboa II District do not have "machambas." Chicumbiaimbaia said that she had been given a small plot last year, "but the owners are returning and will take back the land, so I will depend on the disaster [relief]...."

Namibia

Authorities Negotiate on Resuming Aid Flights to Angola

MB2901155693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1326 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Windhoek Jan 29 SAPA—Namibian Commercial Aviation [NCA], suspended from flying relief food supplies to southern Angola, is negotiating with the Namibian Government to "sort out the issue", Mr. Chris Schutte said on Friday [29 January].

Namibian authorities halted the flights last Saturday saying they were illegal and could not be conducted without Angolan Government approval.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry pointed out the Namibian Government had earlier stipulated two conditions for the Special Relief Programme for Angola (SRPA) operated from northern Namibia.

These were that the Angolan Government approve each and every flight and that the programme be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations agency World Food Programme or another mutually acceptable body.

The SRPA programme was disrupted by renewed fighting between Angolan Government forces and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels last October after UNITA refused to accept the result of the country's first multiparty elections.

According to Mr. Schutte, NCA has been flying the relief food, on behalf of the German agency Hilfe in Not, since the first week in December.

Various destinations in Angola's southeastern Angola Cuando Cubango Province included Likua, Luiana, Mucusso and Jamba, a UNITA stronghold.

Mr. Schutte said he had no problems with documentation and clearances for those flights.

"The pilots say things are pretty safe in the southeast and there is nothing going on," he said adding people were short of food, medical supplies and fuel for food distribution.

"I believe the Addis Ababa (peace) talks (between government and UNITA representatives) will have an outcome on the flights resuming and getting the many frustrated aid workers hanging around Windhoek back in the field."

Swaziland

Finance Minister Notes 'Bleak' Economic Outlook

MB0402094993 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 4 Feb 93 p 32

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "Economy Bleak, Says Minister"]

[Text] Acting Minister for Finance, Mr Solomon Dlamini says the economic outlook for this country is so bleak that government cannot afford free education.

Mr Dlamini was responding to the wake of persistent calls by political organisations in the country for government to subsidise education this year.

Mr Dlamini said, as the Prime Minister noted in his New Year message, the country is undergoing a severe economic crisis.

The minister also dismissed the call for free education by these political organisations because government has money to spend on other things, such as E[Emalangeni] 14 million for ex-MPs [members of parliament], and to purchase an aircraft.

Mr Dlamini said there are no such funds available in government, and even the E14 million is just money that is still to be scouted by government to establish the pension scheme for the ex-MPs, who will then contribute to the fund.

"The economy of this country is very gloomy. Therefore, whatever projects that are undertaken by government, the public should not be misled that it is because there is money."

Mr Dlamini said free education, as these political parties call for fees, would mean raising taxes.

"We do not want to hurt our people, nor do we want to upset our investors by increasing tax, something that will lead to a mass exodus of these investors out of the country," Mr Dlamini said.

The minister appealed to the political parties not to use the drought to advance their political mileage. He said it is a known fact that government is faced with the serious drought, and the world recession, to name but a few.

The minister said he feels that before the call for free education is made, it must be the Ministry of Education to say that all the regions have enough schools.

"Further, it should be for the ministry to advise government that all these schools have all facilities needed. Again, we have to standardise school and book fees."

Education Ministry Criticizes Free Education Calls

MB2801072793 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 28 Jan 93 pp 1, 32

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "Political Parties Warned"]

[Text] The Ministry of Education yesterday warned political parties to stop using the drought as an excuse to advance their politics.

Principal Secretary, Mr Mykeni Vilakati said if political groups want to talk politics, they must stick to it, with no outside deviation.

Mr Vilakati was commenting about the persistent calls by certain political organisations for the ministry to provide free education this year, because of the drought effects.

Mr Vilakati said it is "ridiculous" for political groups to incite parents to defy long-standing school regulations, as if the ministry is happy with the drought. He said the ministry cannot afford to subsidise education beyond what it is doing at present in tertiary education.

He said in primary schools, the ministry is also subsidising by paying for the books from the publishers. He said the books are then rented to the pupils at even less than half the amount it would have cost the parents.

Currently, Mr Vilakati said they are working on a study to subsidise books in secondary schools, to lessen the burden from parents of paying exorbitant book fees, which are changed almost every year.

He said if all goes well, the ministry will start subsidising book fees next year.

"Further, these power-hungry political groups forget about our expansion programmes. We have built a number of schools, teachers' quarters, laboratories, and also classrooms."

Mr Vilakati further said it is the ministry that pays for desks and chairs. He said there is no school in the country that has not been provided with furniture free of charge.

"It may only be that the chairs and desks are not enough, but we make sure that all schools are provided with furniture.

"It is surprising that out of all the good work we are doing to improve education in this country, these political movements try to discredit our efforts by using the drought situation."

Students Form New Association, Declare Neutrality

MB0102103593 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 2 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Report by Sandile N'shakala: "Students Are Not Political Pawns"]

[Text] The newly formed Swaziland Association of Students (SAS) has warned political parties in the country to leave students alone and stop using them as pawns in their political aspirations.

The association also deplored as reprehensible demands made of the Ministry of Education by the People's United Democratic Movement (Pudemso) and the Swaziland Youth Congress (Swayoco) that education should be made free this year.

Interim president, Mr Boy Sabelo Dlamini and secretary general Mr Musa Dlamini, dismissed 'free education' demands by Pudemo and Swayoco as callous, opportunistic and untimely.

"As an association that represents and protects the interest of students in the country, we are against exploitation by political organisations who profess holistic ideals when they are in fact just using students as pawns," the two said.

Declaring their neutrality in politics, the two said the organisation will talk to any government of the day, irrespective of how it was elected.

"We will work with the government of the day, regardless of how it was elected," they said.

According to the two, the objective of the association is to further the interests of students for the benefit of themselves first, and that of the country. This, they said could be realised by the restructuring of the whole education system, which, they said, has failed to prepare students for life outside the four walls of a classroom.

"We are much concerned about the unemployment figures in the country, where the majority of those affected are completed students. We feel that for education to be said to be effective and seen to benefit children, it should imbue them with life long skills to create employment for themselves," they said.

The two said the system of education has failed to create high school graduates who can earn a living by creating jobs for themselves.

"Without getting employment, our high school, university and college graduates cannot earn a living," the two said.

"The association will also arrange for and pledge scholarships for leading students in the country."

The aims and objectives of SAS as contained in its constitution will be to:

- Encourage the re-structuring process of the education system in the country where the need arises;
- To contribute to the academic welfare of students and to promote cultural and social values of our society;
- To organize talks, open lectures and symposiums on any topic relevant to our curriculum; and
- To link with the relevant educational structures and to advocate for subsidized education.

Zimbabwe

Police Fire on Rioting Crowd at Chakari Gold Mine

MB0202094293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0809
GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Harare Feb 2 SAPA—Three people were shot dead and five were injured on Monday night [1 February] when police opened fire on rioting crowds at a gold mine 150km west of Harare, reports said in Harare on Tuesday.

Police confirmation could not be obtained, but THE HERALD, the country's main daily newspaper, said riot

police opened fire when women, youths and schoolchildren threw stones at them at the Dalny gold mine at Chakari, about 20km from the industrial town of Kadoma.

One of the casualties was a 10-year-old who died in hospital, THE HERALD quoted a doctor as saying. Two others died instantly at the scene.

The newspaper also quoted witnesses as saying police fired directly into the crowd, instead of over it.

Neither police nor hospital authorities in Kadoma could be reached by telephone on Tuesday morning. An employee at the mine, owned by Falcon Mines, a subsidiary of the British company African Exploration, said senior management was meeting representatives of the workers' committee, and that the area was "quiet".

THE HERALD said the violence began with an early morning demonstration by women demanding payment for cutting grass.

As the day wore on tempers frayed until riot police from Kadoma were called to rescue a senior mine official from the crowd. Stone-throwing began after nightfall.

Four youths were said to have been treated at Kadoma hospital for gunshot wounds, while a fifth was critically ill in Harare with chest injuries.

Benin

Pope John Paul II Arrives in Cotonou, Comments
*AB0302230093 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
 Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Excerpts] Pope John Paul II arrived in Cotonou early this afternoon. He was welcomed by President Nicéphore Soglo and various political and religious officials. [passage omitted]

After recalling the history of our country and Benin's efforts along the path to democratization, and lauding the contributions of former President Mathieu Kérékou, President Nicéphore Soglo spoke about the sufferings of the people of the subregion.

[Begin Soglo recording] At this point, it is necessary to go farther and appeal to the world for assistance for the consolidation of the democratic process because we are deeply convinced that without democracy there will not be true development. It is also time to elaborate on a master plan for Africa which will favor the organization of a subregional democratic economic environment. Like the former dominions of Asia which have become a dragon, Africa can also show proof of its capacity to develop its economic and cultural potentialities. This is the most efficient way of fighting poverty, reducing the hotbeds that we have seen here and there on the dark continent, and avoiding armed conflicts which have caused so much suffering to a large number of innocent civilians. This is the case in Somalia, Sudan, Mozambique, Angola, Liberia, and over the past few days, in Zaïre, and, very near to us, Togo. Our heart is (aching). Holy Father, since all our efforts have not been able to help reduce these tensions, will Your Holiness kindly come to the help of our brothers and sisters by telling them here things that we are fully convinced they will take into consideration. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The pope has just celebrated a grand mass at the Amitié Stadium. During the mass, 11 new priests were ordained. This celebration would have been incomplete without the Holy Father not thinking of Togo. John Paul II condemned the violence, disregard for human rights, and irresponsibility which have exposed the Togolese people to a bitter experience. I have begun praying for you from Rome and God will help you to overcome this bitter experience. This is what John Paul II told the people of Togo.

[Begin John Paul II recording] I wish to express my heartfelt sympathy and affection to the bishops, the priests, churchmen and women, catechists, and other followers in Togo. Through those who are here now, I would like to tell the Togolese people that, while in Rome, I often think about your country. At this moment, you are experiencing serious difficulties—political and economic instability, insecurity, and violence. These have caused thousands of Togolese to leave their country. In this difficult period, I continue to pray that God will give you peace. Violence and disregard for the

legitimate aspirations of citizens have never led to civil and social progress. One may say that they often depict an irresponsible behavior. Only the values which solidify democratic order and the continuation of the rule of law can help to prepare a better future. If I [passage indistinct] I pray that you may become stronger in faith so that you can become [word indistinct] and so that with you, and thanks to you, all the Togolese people can learn to live in freedom and in solidarity. These are the prayers entrusted to God through the maternal intercession of Our Lady. May God bless you and all the people's of Africa. [end recording]

Ghana

Paper Views Tasks Ahead for Clinton Administration

*AB0302150093 Accra THE MIRROR in English
 30 Jan 93 p 2*

[By Frankie Asare Donkoh]

[Excerpts] On November 3, 1992, while Ghanaians were voting to elect the first president for the fourth republic, Americans were also in the process of electing their 42nd president.

The fight in America was between the incumbent Republican George Bush, Democrat Bill Clinton and the independent Ross Perot. Americans wanted a change after a 12-year monopoly of the White House by the Republicans and hence voted Mr. Clinton in to end the Republican rule. [passage omitted]

With the Cold War over, one therefore sees President Clinton as the only superpower holder. It is out of this consideration that the state of the world under his tenure of office must be of concern at all.

During his campaign, his message was: "My vision is of a world united in peaceful commerce; a world in which nations compete more in economic terms and less in military terms; a world of dynamic market-generated growth that narrows the gap between rich and poor, a world increasingly engaged in democracy, tolerant of diversity and respectful of human rights; a world united against the common enemies of mankind: war, poverty, ignorance, disease and environmental destruction; a world we can pass on to our children and their children with the knowledge that we rose to the new responsibilities of the new world and this new age".

On his foreign policy, President Clinton was quoted as saying that foreign and domestic policies are inseparable in today's world, adding that "the defence of freedom and the promotion of democracy around the world aren't merely a reflection of our deepest values, they are vital to

our national interests. Democracy means nations at peace with one another, open to one another's ideas and one another's commerce".

There is no doubt that Clinton's campaign messages give hope. However, considering the previous roles played by America in international politics and also the fact that his predecessor President George Bush, has already given him an agenda which appears to be in contrast with his own ideas as contained in the campaign messages, one wonders how Democratic Clinton will ensure international democracy.

Among the legacies bequeathed to him by his predecessor are the troubles in Latin America, especially Haiti, apartheid in South Africa, tension in the Middle East. Operation Desert Storm [name as published] in Somalia and the famous "Mother of all Battles", in the Gulf with Iraq.

The questions that come to mind therefore are: Will Clinton continue warring with Saddam Husayn with the aim of toppling him? Will he still support Israel to oppress the Palestinians and still talk of democracy? Will he back the minority regime in South Africa to continue its apartheid policies? Will he also consider such crisis in Croatia, Bosnia and other eastern countries as needing international attention and at the same time consider similar crisis in Liberia and other parts of Africa as internal as Bush did?

Indeed, the task ahead of Bill Clinton is enormous. However, as somebody who has devoted most of his time to the interest of the down-trodden, the whole world expects him to translate his campaign promises and messages into realities.

His Democratic predecessor, Jimmy Carter, will forever be remembered as a peace-maker after his Camp David process. At least the accord signed there provided the needed bridge between the Israelis and the Palestinians towards peace in the Middle East.

It is gratifying to note that Clinton plans to stop production of the B-2 bomber and shift funds from the Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars) to a limited missile defence within the framework of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

On relations with Africa, Africans expect to see improvements and increased assistance. There is the need for American assistance to end the numerous conflicts on the continent as is being provided in the East, and also provide assistance to sustain the new democratic systems being put in place.

A host of African countries are presently in economic mess due to the unfair trade terms, yet America has been a hindrance to the new world economic order developing countries have long fought for. It is obvious that Clinton will not seek the economic interest of developing nations at the expense of America's yet since he believes in

democracy, one hopes that under his tenure America will play a leading role in ensuring that there is democracy also in world trade.

As the American Ambassador to Ghana, Mr. Kenneth Brown, pointed out during the presentation of his credentials on September 24, 1992, despite figures indicating a rise in per capita income, a decline in inflation and an increase in gross domestic product, "there is much to be done and meaningful assistance that outside donors such as the United States can offer Ghana as it continues to put into place free market institution that will constitute the engine of sustainable growth in the future."

This realisation therefore calls for closer relations between Ghana and America under President Clinton who coincidentally was elected on the same day Ghana's President Jerry John Rawlings was also elected.

Over the years Ghana-America relations have been cordial, yet crashes such as the one on the Soussoudis affair a few years ago and some disagreements over certain international issues have not made the two countries work closer as one would have expected.

However, one still hopes that with the historical ties between the two countries, relations between Ghana and America under Clinton will improve to bring the peoples of the two countries closer than before.

Equally, one hopes President Clinton will critically evaluate the Bush legacies and see how he can discard those that are in conflict with his peace mission and the desire to see a demilitarised and democratic world. With the 12-year Reagan-Bush military acrobatics and adventurism in the background, all peace-loving people of the world look to Bill Clinton for global peace under his tenure as the U.S. President.

Liberia

NPRA Freezes Taxes, Duties on Food, Other Goods

AB0302190593 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 1 February 93

[Text] The NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] Government has issued Executive Order No. 001 with immediate effect freezing all taxes and entry duties levied on food, tobacco, petroleum products, and all essential goods brought into the country. The Ministry of Information in Gbarnga quotes a presidential press release as saying: To alleviate the inconvenience encountered by the entire citizenry during this period of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] illegally imposed economic embargo, and in an effort to increase on the local market those basic commodities necessary to our survival, government is pleased to effectuate the Executive Order No. 001 for the free flow of those.

Meanwhile the government says taxes and duties levied on all essential goods coming into the country are hereby suspended until otherwise directed and has accordingly advised that it claim the prompt attention of the appropriate agencies concerned.

Prince Johnson Appeals to Combatants To Surrender

AB0302194093 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Well, it would appear that many fighters are responding to calls by the West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], to lay down their arms. Reports indicate that hundreds of fighters have surrendered to ECOMOG, particularly during and after the October 15 last year's unprovoked attack on civilians in Monrovia and the surrounding areas. General Prince Y. Johnson is a former leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the INPFL, and was among hundreds who have surrendered to ECOMOG.

In the wake of the NPFL's [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] continued acts of atrocity against the Liberian people, Gen. Prince Johnson is calling on all warring factions to stop the fighting and turn over their guns to ECOMOG. Here now is Gen. Prince Yido Johnson as he speaks to the Liberian people, particularly the warring factions:

[Begin recording] My fellow Liberians, elders, brothers, and sisters of Nimba County, this is your son, brother, and friend, Major General Prince Yido Johnson, speaking to you. Yes, I am alive and well, and still stand for peace, fair play, and democracy for Liberia. But how do we achieve these? Not by war. War is [word indistinct].

My brothers, do not allow yourselves to be fooled by one man for giving problems to our small country. No society is 100 percent. There will be problems, corruption, envy, treachery, double dealings. For the guns do not solve these problems, instead they only damage the lives of your very innocent brothers and sisters, and destroy property.

When these have been done, who do you expect to care for you or love and appreciate you? How can you rule the very people you slaughtered innocently? How can you then expect them to help you after you have laid down your guns? Where do you expect to live afterwards? What is the objective of this senseless bloodbath?

My brothers, in order for Nimba County to survive tomorrow and for you to be able to live peacefully, and your children and children's children, put your guns down now. I have never fooled you before and I would not do it now. Give yourself up to ECOMOG and free your county and country from total eradication.

If you claim to be a freedom fighter, then now is the time to prove it. Put your guns down, for freedom is already ahead but we must go through the ballot box. You cannot impose yourself on anybody. People have their own free will and must therefore, choose who they want accordingly.

This free will was God-given and cannot be taken by any, I repeat, any human being, even through war. We can only stop corruption, envy, hatred, malice, and wickedness in our country, if we clean up our own lives. We cannot take the beam from our brother's eye if we have flies in ours. How then can you seek revenge, my brother? Two wrongs do not make a right.

The world has plenty of problems, but it cannot help you solve (?them) unless you put down your guns and allow help to be given to you. God says: vengeance is mine and I shall repay. So, leave it to him. Do not be fooled by anyone. Only God has the power to allow others to forgive you and for you to forgive those who have done wrong to you.

Mr. Charles Gankay Taylor, Colonel Samuel G. Vanny, and others of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, I appeal to you: Please, stop the fighting! You are killing our people and only spoiling our own country. How do you expect to be president in a country where you have killed most of the people? Who will you rule? How will the international community and our ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] brothers look on you? What kind of relations do you intend to have with them?

Or do you think that since you did not reach the Executive Mansion, you could eliminate everyone at all cost? But what about your family and the families of your supporters? How are they going to live tomorrow, be it in Liberia or other parts of the world? Why not begin to build a bridge for them to live. Stop the wars, but first, surrender and let Liberians meet again.

Colonel Vanny, have you forgotten our motto, death before dishonor? Therefore, do not allow yourself to be dishonorably used. Be a truth patriot. Have you forgotten what it stands for? Do you remember August 24, 1990, when you fought and lost brave men and you boarded the boat to bring in ECOMOG for peacekeeping? You fought and succeeded between two forces because God comes to friends of peace and anyone who has a clean heart and is for peace will have the victory.

You still have a chance. Talk to your children, talk to Tom Weowiye, talk to John Richardson, talk to (Elmer Doeway) even, talk to Charles Taylor. Stop the (?fighting) and let Liberians decide on their own leadership to the ballot box. [end recording]

Commentary on Negotiations Without World Community

AB0402140193 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Commentary by Information Ministry; all sentences as heard]

[Text] We could not [word indistinct] any degree of expectation and imagination when the president of the Monrovia-based government, Dr. Amos Sawyer, in his annual message to Monrovia, said his government had given special recognition to the vigilant ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] group and consequently provided them seats in his government. His statement was just an open confession to the international community (and to) those who had paid deaf ears to the revelation that has long been registered to the United Nations, the OAU, and the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] by the president of the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly [NPRA] government, His Excellency Charles Gankay Taylor, who had and continues to say that ULIMO and the Black Berets are Sawyer's institution in an effort to disrupt the country in the face of general free and fair elections since in fact his chances are slim.

Now it is no secret that Sawyer, in collaboration with the West African peace enforcement body, has been conducting secret military training in neighboring countries. Why should there be secret armies? Can a man who loves his people bring suffering upon them? Sawyer has formed two dissident groups which are presently in the country committing genocide and mayhem against our people.

What do the West African leaders have to say about this? Don't they consider this a threat to the subregion if there will be a number of dissident groups in West Africa? What we should remember is that today it is ULIMO that is given recognition; tomorrow it could be the Black Berets. Who knows which other group comes next? The action to create secret armies was taken with no justification. Yet, the call for disarmament continues to be made.

The NPRA government has no qualm about Sawyer giving special recognition to any group, but what we want to expose is his clandestine expedition which is causing a severe hardship for the Liberian people. For us, we believe in open discussions and do not have hidden agenda like Sawyer and his cohorts. We believe that Liberians are capable of sitting at a roundtable to sincerely discuss their problems in the absence of the international community, unlike Sawyer who believes that Liberians cannot solve their own problems. We believe that whether Black Berets or ULIMO, the able men of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] are capable of determining the sovereignty of this nation. It is worth mentioning that one who has distrust in his national security force is likely to gamble with the sovereignty of his country.

We do not mind if Sawyer should entrust the security of the enclaved Monrovia into the hands of ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] for now. This is done out of confused, mismatched politics, fear, ignorance, and [words indistinct]. We are not surprised at Sawyer's pronouncements and doings as these are things one should expect from one who begs. There is an old saying which says: A beggar has no choice. Sawyer is almost like a beggar who is controlled by the West African imperialist wagon ridden by Babangida and his conspirators.

Finally, to our fellow Liberians it is about time that we soberly reflect on realities existing in the country and have a second thought. Meanwhile, for how long can a man be suppressed? Wake up and speak for your rights and for the total liberation of this country.

Niger

Minister Says Truce 'Not Realistic' in 10 Days

AB0402104593 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 0545 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] The minister of state for national reconciliation has reacted to a report carried by our radio station yesterday morning stating that a truce might be signed between the government and the rebels within 10 days. According to Mr. Albert Wright, the possibility of signing a truce within 10 days is not realistic:

[Begin recording] Indeed, in the search for a rapid solution to the problem, we should try to conclude a truce after negotiations to seek lasting solutions open, because it is not proper, of course, to continue to have dialogue at a negotiating table when hostilities have not ceased on the ground.

Now, concerning the possibility of signing a truce within just 10 days, it is not realistic, so to speak. I wish that we could achieve a truce very quickly. That would be a good thing, especially during this period, when we are undergoing an electoral process that will result in the setting up of our future official organs. Anyway, it is not possible to set a definite timetable when one is going through a process of negotiations. [end recording]

Nigeria

Soldiers Depart for UN Mission in Somalia

AB0302201093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] The first batch of Nigerian soldiers taking part in the UN peacekeeping operations in Somalia left Lagos today for Mogadishu. The officers and soldiers, numbering 65, were joining from the 245th Reconnaissance Battalion, Ikeja. Addressing the contingent, the chief of the Army staff, Lieutenant General Salihu Ibrahim, advised them to be impartial in their dealings with the people of Somalia. General Ibrahim reminded the

officers and men that as true ambassadors to the country, they should not involve themselves in any illegal business such as drug trafficking. The chief of the Army staff explained that the participation by Nigeria in international peacekeeping operations is a continued process of contributing positively to the cause of humanity.

A Radio Nigerian Network News correspondent reports that Nigeria is sending a contingent of 39 officers and 621 soldiers to the peacekeeping operations. The airlift of the contingent, which has Lieutenant Colonel (Ola Oyiola) as the commander, is expected to be completed by Tuesday [9 February] next week.

President, Governors To Discuss Civil Service Salaries

AB0402095293 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] All state governors will now meet the president tomorrow, instead of Monday [8 February] next week, as earlier announced. The meeting has been brought forward because of the urgency of the matter to be discussed.

Addressing State House correspondents in Abuja, the chief press secretary to the vice president, Mr. Nduka Irabor, said that the meeting will review the issue of salary structure for state civil servants and the implementation of the new salary structure for the workers.

It will be recalled that the Public Service Union had called out all categories of workers on an indefinite industrial action, beginning from yesterday, to press for the implementation by state governments of the 45 percent interim salary increase approved last year by the Federal Government. Mr. Irabor stated that since the matter was already before the Industrial Arbitration Panel [IAP], there was no reason for workers to embark on the strike.

The IAP yesterday began hearing in the five-point demand by seven civil service unions. Five of the seven unions involved in the strike embarked upon by some civil servants were present at the tribunal. They are the Association of Senior Civil Service Technical Workers, Nigerian Civil Service Union, the Civil Service Technical Workers Union of Nigeria, the Printing and Publishing Workers Union, and the Nigerian Union of Teachers. The two unions absent are the Nigerian Union of Civil Service Typists, Stenographers, and Allied Staff, and the National Association of Nigerian Nurses and Midwives.

Part of the demands are the full implementation of the 45 percent increase granted to civil servants last year by the Federal Government and the restoration of the National Public Service Negotiating Council. Reacting to the strike, the secretary for labor and productivity, Chief Francis Ella, described the action as illegal.

Information Minister Urges Workers To Reject Strike

AB0402103493 Dakar PANA in English 0947 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] Lagos, 3 Feb. (NAN/PANA)—Nigeria's information and culture secretary, Uche Chukwumerije, has appealed to workers in the country's public sector to reject a recent call for industrial action against the government by the country's labour leaders. We urge you to continue with your work in the general interest of peace and our country, he said in a statement.

The call followed the labour leaders' demands for increased pay and changes in Nigeria's labour legislation. The leaders have urged Nigeria's public sector workers have urged industrial action against government if their demands are not met. [sentence as received]

We believe that this ultimatum is most inauspicious at this critical period when the Transitional Council is badly attempting to chart a new course for our nation, Chukwumerije said. He urged all Nigerians, especially public workers, not to condone what he described as an act of illegality, which, he said, would also impede effective implementation of the country's 1993 budget and transition to civilian rule.

The tone of the ultimatum and the leaders' hasty, almost obsessive resort to strike action, in total indifference to negotiating procedures, gives the unfortunate impression that they are being used by vested interests outside labour, he said.

Aikhomu Appeals for Understanding From Creditors

AB0302193593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 3 Feb 93

[Text] The vice president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, has again appealed to Nigeria's creditors to show more understanding and cooperation towards her debt servicing obligations. Adm. Aikhomu stressed that this would help in conserving enough resources for national development.

Speaking yesterday when he received the new French ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. Pierre Garrigue-Guyonnaud, in Abuja, Adm. Aikhomu said that it was the duty of the government [to ensure] that more resources were channeled into new development projects rather than debt servicing. He emphasized that this year's budget was fashioned out with a deliberate policy objective of maximizing resource utilization. The vice president sought the cooperation of the French Government in resolving the Liberian crisis.

Responding, Mr. Garrigue-Guyonnaud said that the French Government had total confidence in the Nigerian economy and promised his country's total commitment to Nigeria's political and economic development. He said that his government would assist Nigeria in

training programs, particularly in the area of water resources. The ambassador announced that a French school would be built in Abuja this year.

[Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English at 1030 GMT on 3 February adds that Aikhomu "called on France to assist in finding a lasting solution to the Liberian crisis, stressing that although efforts (were) on to contain the conflict, international assistance would be welcome to speed up the peace process.

["The French envoy later called on Nigeria's head of government, Chief Ernest Shonekan, where he spoke on Nigeria's 1993 federal budget. He said the budget was tremendous in the light of the Franco-Nigerian economic relations. France, he said, would extend additional credit facilities to Nigeria."]

Togo

RPT Accepts Strasbourg Talks Offer, Outlines Conditions

AB0302215793 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900
GMT 3 Feb 93

[Press release issued by the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT) in Lome on 3 February]

[Text] On 30 January, the RPT executive bureau received two letters dated 29 January—one from the French Embassy and the other from the German Embassy—suggesting a planned inter-Togolese reconciliation meeting to be held in Strasbourg on 5 February in the presence of French and German representatives. The objective of the roundtable meeting is to seek an agreement through consensus on relaunching a democratic process that would likely lead to holding free elections as soon as possible. In this regard, it will reportedly bring together one delegate from the president, one from the prime minister, one from the High Council of the Republic, three from the presidential camp, and three from the Collective of Democratic Opposition, COD-II.

After noting this proposal, the RPT executive bureau first lauded the solidarity that France and Germany continue to show toward the Togolese people and the efforts these friendly countries are making to help them overcome the obstacle currently preventing the democratic process from reaching a successful end. The bureau also admitted the undeniable relevance of a planned inter-Togolese reconciliation meeting, which, as the RPT has always stated, constitutes a prerequisite for the success of the Togolese democratic process, given the national conference's incomplete mission.

However, the RPT executive bureau has said the following: The date suggested for holding the meeting is too soon to allow efficient preparations. Because the stakes are so important, this meeting cannot be hastily organized. The identification and composition of the delegations should be revised to allow more representation by

the major partners in the social and political life. Given the important and complex problems to be considered at this meeting—namely those of insecurity, ethnic hatred, social demands, antagonism among political parties, and so on—it seems necessary to have more representatives to enhance the chances of reaching a true and durable cessation of tension.

In conclusion, for timeliness and efficiency and to increase its impact, the meeting should be held in Togo. In view of those considerations, the RPT executive bureau informs his excellency, Mr. ambassador of France, and his excellency, Mr. ambassador of Germany, that the RPT agrees with the principle of the reconciliation meeting and its implementation, but calls for the date, the venue, and the composition of the delegations to be revised in order to ensure its efficiency and success. Indeed, the RPT believes that a solution to its concerns cannot be an obstacle to holding the meeting or to holding free and open elections in the next three to four months.

[Issued] Lome

3 February

For the executive bureau, Daoukou Pere, deputy secretary general

RPT Chief Meets Press on Riots, Looting, Refugees

AB0302225093 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900
GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Vigniko Amedegnato, general secretary of the Rally of the Togolese People, RPT, met the press this morning. He deplored the acts of violence, the bloody riots, and the looting perpetrated and organized by some Togolese who he claims want to drive the country toward civil war. He mentioned the incessant appeals made by these same people for an armed intervention in Togo, the rumors skillfully orchestrated and manipulated concerning the kidnapping or assassination of Monsignor Kpodzro, and the barbaric assaults organized against elements of the armed and security forces. The RPT secretary general said that the Togolese opposition has never wished to contribute to the development of democracy in Togo:

[Begin Amedegnato recording] It is obvious today that the Togolese opposition has never wanted to contribute to the development of democracy in Togo. Their intention is to confiscate all the power, first through the national conference and then through disturbances and rumors. The aim is to assume power without elections. For those people, democracy consists exclusively of getting rid of the president of the Republic through all means except the ballot box. The RPT calls for the attention of the prime minister, who should further consider the sufferings of the people and the uncertainties hovering over the country as a result of the absence of a state governing body. Once again, it condemns the new wave of violence into which the country has been driven, as well as the clash policy which, for some time

now, has appeared to prevail over negotiations. It is forced to warn those people and the countries striving to support this policy. It also condemns the perverse and abusive use of the Togolese people's piety for political purposes, which is contrary to national interest and Christian morality. Therefore, it calls on the prime minister to take up his responsibilities urgently. Indeed, the people expect the prime minister to form a government and, as soon as possible, take drastic and salutary measures to help the country overcome the situation of total want and confusion in which it is plunged today. [end recording]

Amedegnato then reaffirmed the RPT's availability for dialogue in a context free of the hardship measures imposed on the people and its desire to go rapidly to the elections. Furthermore, the RPT secretary general called on the citizens not to leave and stressed that the exodus of Togolese was a maneuver undertaken from inside and outside the country:

[Begin Amedegnato recording] As I mentioned in the press release, the exodus has been caused by those very people who want to ruin the country. To say the truth, first, there are rumors circulating which frighten Togolese and make them leave their country. Other neighboring countries are also calling on them to leave, but we know that, actually, all that contributes to the impoverishment of Togo, because, in fact, these Togolese take foreign exchange into those countries and these countries thrive commercially, while our country is emptying. I think that all this is part of the plan I talked about. It is a really machiavellian maneuver to destroy. We say that

only rumors and (7)tracts are calling on people to leave their country, and this is why, once again, I call on each Togolese not to panic and to analyze the situation before acting, otherwise we will be accomplices of our own destruction. [end recording]

Violence Sends 40,000 Into Neighboring Countries *AB0302164093 Paris AFP in English 1400 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Excerpts] Lome, Feb 3 (AFP) - Thousands of Togolese continued streaming out of Lome Wednesday [3 February], fleeing violence in an exodus that has sent 40,000 people into neighboring countries and countless others into the countryside.

This West African coastal city of 600,000 was in a state of effervescence, with baggage-laden crowds gathering at taxi stations. [passage omitted]

Since Sunday, border officials say, 25,000 Togolese have fled into Ghana, to the west and 15,000 into Benin to the east.

In Kpalime, 115 kilometers (72 miles) from Lome, there was ample evidence that the flow into the countryside was continuing: Overloaded cars arrived in the town and passengers dispersed on foot, some to rejoin relatives in villages in the bush, others to cross the nearby border into Ghana.

"On Sunday and Monday, it was even more crowded here," said a driver in the bus station.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

5 February 1993

